

# LOVE AND RAGE

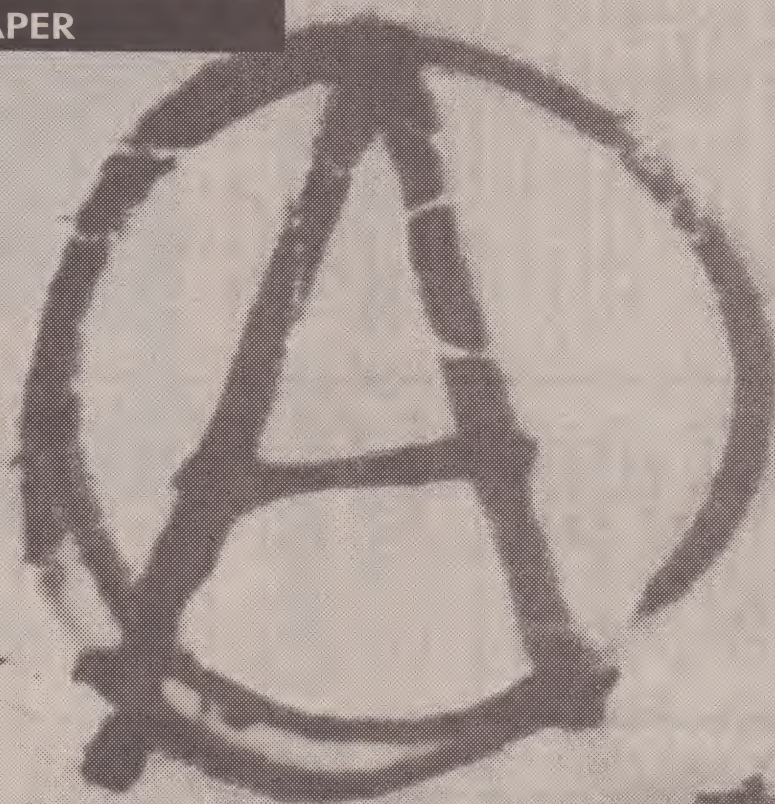
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Special Section:

*¡Chiapas!* (pages 11-21)



**Feminism**

**and Revolution**



# Radicalizing "Stonewall 25"

## Gay Liberation, Queer Politics, and Anti-Authoritarianism

BY JULIA

*"We have got to radicalize... Be proud of what you are... And if it takes riots or even guns to show them what we are, well, that's the only language the pigs understand."*

Jim Fouratt, July 1969

Gay Liberation Front organizer

AS ANARCHISTS AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIANS, what do we want to make of the fact that the 1969 Stonewall Riot is generally seen as the "birth" of the contemporary lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender (l/g/b/t) movement in the US? Why not another significant event, such as

changes in the psychological classifications of homosexuality? Or the abolition of sodomy laws? Or the institution of anti-discrimination laws? What understanding of homophobic oppression can we derive from the commemoration of Stonewall as the most fitting occasion for celebrating our pride?

Some queer activists/scholars object to mythologizing Stonewall as the pinnacle historical moment in the emergence of the contemporary l/g/b/t movement. They argue that this obscures the importance of other efforts, such as the '50s campaigns against the psychiatric establishment and the legal system. However, I believe that celebrating Stonewall as the beginning of a new kind of

political empowerment for queers has the potential to radicalize the current movement. The problem in the way that Stonewall is commemorated is that it has been appropriated by the mainstream "leadership" of the lesbian and gay movement. This has emptied the event of its anti-authoritarian critique by reducing it to a focus on lesbian and gay visibility and acceptance.

The "hidden" history of Stonewall is particularly important today, when gays and lesbians have placed their faith in Bill Clinton's Democratic Party and in the capacity of the liberal legal system to provide legislation that will somehow eliminate homophobia while leaving authoritari-

an institutions intact. We need to trace out the implicit anti-authoritarian critique embedded in the Stonewall rebellion and in later organizing to illuminate the contradictions of the mainstream's exclusive focus on sexual identity and "coming out" within the various social hierarchies of this society. In contrast to this, the growing "queer" movement potentially contains a far-reaching understanding of gender, sexual identity and oppression that could constitute an important part of an anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement.

### THE RIOT

Accounts of the June, 1969 Stonewall Riot usually don't position the Stonewall Inn and its customers within class and racial hierarchies, or within other hierarchies in the gay community. The standard story is that, for some unknown reason, this particular group of gay men and lesbians decided that they could not stand for another bar raid and so took to the streets to claim their right to associate freely, without the harassment of the state.

You wouldn't know it by looking at the touristy Stonewall Inn of today, but in 1969 it was a dive: a haven for outcasts and people who couldn't afford the more upscale Manhattan gay bars. Although, like many NYC bars, it was controlled by the Mafia, for three dollars you could stay all night. It was common knowledge that the Stonewall Inn gave shelter to many homeless queer youth.

It was because of its lack of economic clout, and because it was a popular hangout for drag queens and non-white queer folks, that the Stonewall Inn was a fre-

## Ain't No Revolution Without Children

BY WENDY

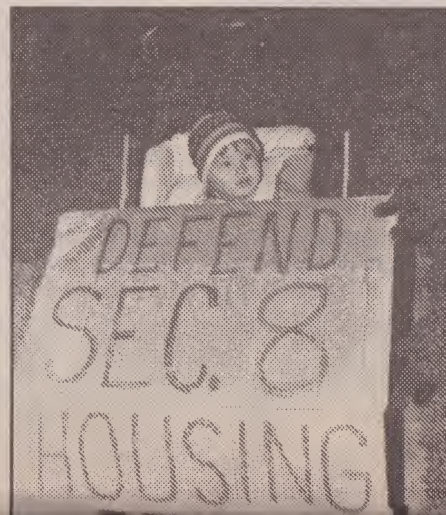
I AM VERY FRUSTRATED WITH THE anarchist movement and the attitudes that result in lack of full participation by parents. As a single mom with an active toddler, I view the meetings, demonstrations, and conferences that I attend with a very different perspective. Things are a lot harder for me; even simple things like writing an article and typing it into the computer can be a real struggle, because my daughter is constantly demanding my attention.

I will discuss several barriers that make full participation impossible: the "anti-child bias," lack of time, money, and security. Then I will propose some solutions to break down these sexist, classist, racist, and ageist barriers.

*We are pregnant with freedom.  
We are a conspiracy.*

Not only do our children continue the fight, but they can teach us if we listen to their natural inclination towards freedom. We are handicapped by years of brainwashing by school, church, and the authoritarian family. Although we won't have a truly free society until the state and capitalism are overthrown, we can create a generation of anar-kids who have learned about life in non-authoritarian structures. Children are also valuable for who they are now, not just what they can become. They can teach us responsibility, patience, and the best cartoons to watch.

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It was because of its lack of economic clout, and because it was a popular hangout for drag queens and non-white queer folks, that the Stonewall Inn was a frequent target of police raids. The desire to shut down the Stonewall Inn and drive away its regulars stemmed as much from hatred of drag queens, non-whites, and poor people as it did from homophobia. It was no doubt this class and racial oppression, along with sexual oppression, that mobilized the Stonewall rioters.

One of the more well-known participants, a Puerto-Rican drag queen named Sylvia Rivera (who helped found the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries [STAR] in the months following the rebellion), has tried to make this point in interviews with Stonewall historians: "The queens were ready to be in the front lines because we didn't have too much to lose and we knew about violence." Drag queens and butch/femme bar dykes were those who were especially marginalized at this time by the homophile "societies" such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, in addition to being the ones most targeted by straight homophobia. The homophile movement sought acceptance and tolerance of homosexuality, and so attempted to hide aspects of lesbian and gay culture that deviated most significantly from white middle-class norms.

It was those on the outside of respectable middle-class society, with the least to lose in resisting the state, who

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I will discuss several barriers that make full participation impossible: the "anti-child bias," lack of time, money, and security. Then I will propose some solutions to break down these sexist, classist, racist, and ageist barriers.

First, I would like to address what I call the "anti-child bias." Like other types of oppression, many activists don't even realize they have this attitude. An "anti-child bias" can take many forms. One form is the failure to see the importance of children to the movement. Here is a poem by Assata Shakur, a black revolutionary who got pregnant while imprisoned unjustly for her commitment to Black liberation and the Black Liberation Army (BLA).

### Love

*Love is contraband in Hell  
cause love is an acid  
that eats away bars.  
But you, me, and tomorrow  
hold hands and make vows  
that struggle will multiply.  
The hacksaw has two blades.  
The shotgun has two barrels.*

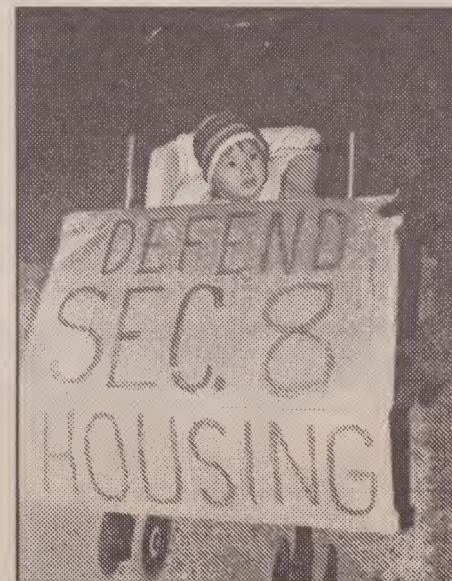
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The "anti-child bias" translates into a general lack of responsibility and thought towards our youth. Like issues that affect the elderly or physically challenged, most people don't concern themselves with the needs of parents and kids because it's not part of their lifestyle.

Some choose to live in an exclusively adult world and don't want their "hip scene" invaded by sticky little fingers. Even the best-intentioned activists need to examine their lifestyle to see if they are a good role model for the youth. Many parents will not bring their children into a working environment in which there is alcohol or drug use. Also consider that a single lifestyle of long road trips, late night events and meetings in bars limits parents' participation.

"White" anarchists who want a multi-racial movement are never going to attract people of color to unite against a common enemy unless a "child-friendly" environ-



ment is provided and issues that concern families are addressed.

Single parents, especially Black, Hispanic and people of color, already face much disempowerment in our daily lives: the majority of our time is devoted to working to provide basic needs for our families. Surveys have shown that when both parents work an equal amount of time outside of the home, it is still the woman who does most of the childcare, housework, shopping and paying of bills. Most single men, on the other hand, have the power and privilege that translate to having more time and money to contribute to our movement.

The following list is an outline of points

(Continued to page 22)

**Zapatista Uprising in Chiapas, México:**  
**Communiques, Analysis, Background**  
**See pages 11-21 for coverage**





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It was those on the outside of respectable middle-class society, with the least to lose in resisting the state, who began the Stonewall Riot. They were also the ones most targeted by the police that night: drag queens resisting the police used their heels and other weapons to unarrest themselves and each other. Along with this admirable show of militance and self-respect, the queens were the ones with a wry and witty perspective, chanting "We are the Stonewall Girls/ We wear our hair in curls/ We wear no underwear/ We show our pubic hair," in the midst of the crackdown by the riot police.

The drag queens at the Stonewall Inn that night were proud and defiant and well aware that they posed a threat to the patriarchal gender system. They had no illusions about being "accepted" into this society on its own terms. It is this kind of queer pride that we should commemorate at this year's Stonewall anniversary. Because of their marginality, however, these queens

(Continued to page 2)



*Love and Rage* is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, México and the US, who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time paid staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in México City, operates a Federation office in Oakland, California, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in Chicago in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns. There are currently two working groups in the Federation: one on fascism, racism and police violence and the other on state borders and anti-immigrant violence. For more information contact the groups.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council. The Federation Council is currently made up of two delegates from each of the local supporting groups plus eight delegates from the various projects.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the Federation take place in the quarterly discussion bulletin (*Disco Bull*). More timely information goes out in the bi-weekly Federation Bulletin, produced by the Federation Office in Oakland, Calif.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any member of a local supporting group is automatically a member of the Federation. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request.

Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. We are always happy to have people help with any of the projects. So please contact us.

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# Stonewall

(Continued from front page)

have lost the battle over the significance of Stonewall for informing lesbian/gay/bisexual political struggle.

## GAY LIBERATION AND GAY RIGHTS

Very soon after the Stonewall riots ended, the Gay Liberation Front was founded. The GLF was inspired by other social movements of the late '60s and modeled some of its tactics and organization on these groups. Its founders thumbed their noses at the former leadership of the lesbian and gay civil rights movement, located largely in Washington D.C., who were concerned with acceptance and maintaining the favor of the establishment. While the leaders of the Mattachine Society posted signs after the riots, asking for peace and "reasonable behavior" among gays, the increasingly militant liberationists argued that they weren't interested in acceptance, but instead in empowerment and respect.

Inspired by the militant tactics and critiques put forward by other social movements of the time, many GLF actions supported organizations like the Black Panther Party, and they actively sought to explore the relation of homophobia to racism and sexism. Like many other '60s radicals, GLFers saw themselves as part of a revolutionary movement.

Meanwhile, gay-liberation theorists of the early '70s rejected understandings of homosexuality and the political agenda put forward by the pre-Stonewall homophile movement. Before Stonewall, the homophile leadership had argued for ending discrimination against homosexuals in public institutions and emphasizing the competence and capability of homosexuals to function "just like everyone else" outside of the bedroom. In stark contrast, gay liberationists

argued for a gender revolution and an end of the sex-role system that sees masculinity and femininity as mutually exclusive. They understood homophobia as tied to this system, which privileges heterosexuality and men, and they sought to tear it down.

Because of the revolutionary focus of the GLF, the organization soon split, and some middle-class gay men formed the Gay Activists Alliance. It was the GAA that began to articulate the single-issue and legislative focus of the contemporary lesbian and gay "rights" movement. This approach was especially popular among white gay men, and picked up recruits rapidly. Many of the lesbian and gay organizations that were formed from this point on, particularly in the face of the demise of so many social movements during the course of the '70s, focused on legislative battles and discrimination against lesbians and gay men. Rather than trying to revolutionize American society, the movement increasingly sought gay inclusion into the existing system, with whatever minimal adjustments necessary to ensure "equal treatment."

It's ironic that it is primarily these liberal, "rights" organizations that have adopted Stonewall as a symbol of their pride, and that constitute the committees that make up "Stonewall 25." Indeed, the people-of-color caucus of Stonewall 25 had to fight to keep the rest of the committee from excluding transexuals as official participants in this year's events. For the most part, "Stonewall 25" has become a marketing opportunity, with large contributions from corporations that see a certain stratum of the lesbian and gay population as potential consumers of their products. The "Stonewall 25" planning committee has catered to this image to the extent that it attempts to "put a good face" on lesbian and gay culture by sweeping undesirables under the rug.

Reformists forget that the Stonewall Riot represented an unwillingness to adapt to mainstream society to work for change. Unlike the tactics used by gay rights advocates (lobbying, letter-writing, "coming

out" within corporate environments), the Stonewall rioters took an alternative path to political empowerment and self-respect by taking to the streets. So successful have reformists been in portraying Stonewall as the first step toward legislative changes of the "enlightened Gay '90s" that they have alienated more radical queers from participating in events that commemorate the Stonewall rebellion.

## QUEER POLITICS AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIANISM

The AIDS crisis and a "post-modern" political climate have marked the rise of a new tendency within the l/g/b/t movement. In many ways, today's queer politics hearken back to the rhetoric of the GLF with their "in your face" tactics and style. Reclaiming the label "queer" to embrace deviance and shun the drive toward liberal acceptance grew in large part as a response to the frustration of those who initially worked within liberal organizations for an end to the AIDS epidemic.

ACT UP was founded in 1987 by activists who could see that lobbying and letter writing was getting them nowhere, and who had begun to see how deeply homophobia was woven into the institutions that they were appealing to in the fight against AIDS. As a result of the AIDS epidemic, many gay men became marginalized from mainstream society as "pariahs" in a way that they hadn't been before. They had less of a stake in upholding the system that so clearly despised them. Like the Stonewall Riot, the formation of ACT UP marked a radical break from previous tendencies in lesbian and gay politics and embodied a more comprehensive understanding of how various authoritarian institutions intersect to perpetuate homophobia.

The growing queer movement has also attracted lesbians and bisexual women who are frustrated with the monolithic understandings of identity and restrictive ideas of community put forward by lesbian-feminists. In contrast to lesbian feminism,





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## Letting Loose Our Rage

a day in the fields, still has the kitchen  
range and cutting board to deal with.

Centuries have passed and exploitation



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#### About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist  
Federation is in the process of developing a state-  
ment of our common politics. A set of Working  
Papers encompassing the debate on the content of  
this statement is available for \$5 from Fed Office  
(see address above). The following introduction to  
our old Political Statement gives an idea of where  
we are coming from:

*Love and Rage* is a bi-monthly anarchist news-  
paper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authori-  
tarian activism in North America and build a more  
effective and better-organized anarchist movement.  
We will provide coverage of social struggles, world  
events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance.  
We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples  
around the world for control over their own lives.  
Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of  
domination, making possible a framework for unity  
in all struggles for liberation. We seek to under-  
stand the systems we live under for ourselves and  
reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a  
living body of theory and practice connected direct-  
ly to the lived experiences of oppressed people  
fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the  
radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a nec-  
essary part of any revolutionary process.



(Continued to page 22)

## Letting Loose Our Rage With All of Our Ovaries!

BY MAGO

**T**HE CLAMOR OF WOMEN, HARD-  
ened by this unstable world, the  
blood, the sweat and tears shed are  
not forgotten. Our rage and impotence  
keep throbbing in our hearts in the face of  
so much injustice enacted by men... That  
injustice that starts at home; clean, wash,  
cook, care for the child and the husband  
in the bed...if you are fooled and preg-  
nant, you will be father and mother, the  
sustenance of the house; employee, work-  
er, seamstress, exploited, whipped or  
raped.

From the time you are a child, they tell  
you that you must be faithful, virgin, and a  
servant, that you stop cooing only to make  
food and be the cook, slave and semen  
depository when your husband decides so.  
You will do this shitty domestic work for

more than 15 hours, this work that you do  
for love or out of obligation, this invisible  
work, like an ant, who is constant and nev-  
ertheless doesn't see herself; even a high  
salary would not make this worth it; all  
this without even mentioning domestic  
violence, they say that this is part of your  
femininity, the woman is the home, even  
in high society. They have everything in  
their hands with their capital, their chains  
are gold, servants and business cards for  
the bourgeois and his interest\$. Mean-  
while, the working-class woman, in order  
to maintain her man, washes others'  
clothes or does any work cleaning build-  
ings, works in a factory, or as a seam-  
stress, dying on the machines and, as an  
added bonus, the domestic work is hers by  
inheritence.

We speak also of the peasant who, after

a day in the fields, still has the kitchen  
range and cutting board to deal with.

Centuries have passed and exploitation  
keeps bleeding, strikes and actions against  
assassin bosses.

History repeats itself, March 8. Today,  
here, and in every part of the world the  
agony continues in clandestine jails, in psy-  
chiatric hospitals, dying from sexual abuse  
with every confrontation with a rapist,  
women beaten, daughters repressed, dis-  
carded, dead from illegal abortions, sex  
workers never recognized, women, women,  
and a riot of violations. No More!

Women, today, together we struggle for  
our rights, for freedom for ourselves and for  
our children! In our wombs we gestate the  
struggle for a path to freedom...we will go  
out into the streets, we will yell, we demand  
all this with all of our ovaries, because this  
world is also ours. We want no patriarchy,  
our liberation also belongs to men; together,  
hand in hand, in step, we will build the lib-  
eration of the new human beings.★

[Mago is a member of the *Collectivo de  
Mujeres Emma Goldman* and *D.P.S.O. squat  
in Mexico City.*]



BY PRATHAMA BANERJEE, ASA NEWS

**W**HEN COMMUNAL VIOLENCE BROKE OUT IN [the Indian city of] Surat, women of the slums were gang-raped and dragged around naked. The whole operation was videotaped by their violators. Numerous women were traumatized for life as much by the glare of the flash and whirr of the camera, as by the rape. Even now, the gaze of the cruel masculine society has not left them alone; in Bombay there is an underground circulation of these videotapes as entertaining pornographic material.

Elsewhere, [in the state] of Bihar, upper-caste men, by sheer virtue of their social privilege, take away and sleep with the "untouchable" women as they please. No one can protest for fear of the whole lower-caste neighborhoods being burnt to the ground by angry, upper-caste men.

And, in [the state of] Rajasthan, Roop Kanwar, a widow, was burnt to death as "sati"—a symbol of the ideal, obedient, loving wife who gives her life in her husband's funeral pyre to prove her virtue. The Rajput and Mawari men built temples to commemorate this tribute to their manliness, and part of the vernacular [popular] press celebrated this symbol of "Indian tradition and culture."

At the same time, Muslim fundamentalists, with aid from the so-called secular state, have refused to provide divorced Muslim women maintenance [alimony] as ordered by the courts. And, if the Sikh fundamentalists are able to achieve what they want, their Sikh widows would be compelled to marry their brothers-in-law irrespective of age and marital status.

## VARIOUS FRONTS

These are not exceptional instances of outrage. They show that, even in these "modern" times, women are still victimized. These are only some instances of what is a deep-seated, patriarchal trend in Indian society, the so-called largest democracy in the world, now on the "progressive" road to modernity. However, this is not to say that these instances of atrocities against women are singular because of the persisting backwardness of a still semi-feudal society.

Oppression is the same if not more in the seemingly advanced sectors, whether it be mechanizing industries where women are being thrown out of jobs on a mass scale, or be it the judiciary and personal laws which treat women as chattels.

Women, to survive here, have to fight on various fronts: fight the rightist state; fight the fundamentalist and communal forces in the society, which are trying to further domesticate women and make them into symbols of chastity for men to be proud of; fight the men on the streets who tease, molest, and rape them as their right to pleasure; fight the father or the husband who violates their autonomy, dignity, and body within the household in the name of love, possession, and rights; and even fight the women who have internalized this patriarchal ideology such that, as a mother-in-law, she can overwork another woman to death, or as a woman activist of Jamati Islami, threaten to throw acid on

# *Patriarchy and Resistance* **The Women's Movement in India**





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Because of this, women's movements in India take on different forms and emphases, and choose different targets for their primary political criticism.

For one, there are, of course, attempts to generate societal public opinion against the obvious violations of women's rights, like dowry deaths. For the other, there is a steady trend to educate women of minimum literacy and earning skills about their rights, and thereby to liberate their minds and make them conscious and capable beings, fending for themselves.

There are organizational efforts directed against family and individual repression of women, in which voluntary women's groups seek help from various organs of the state like the courts and police.

And, above all, there are mass-scale women's mobilizations, some sporadic, some by political parties, against the state and patriarchal and class exploitation in society.

## PROBLEMATIC

These forms of resistance against the oppression of women have their own radicalizing potentials. Yet all of these are problematic.

Firstly, generating common public opinion, mobilizing the majority against patriarchal oppression, goes only so far and no more. The "unrest" caused in the household, workplace and in public spaces by women asserting their rights disturbs the sense of stability and status quo of

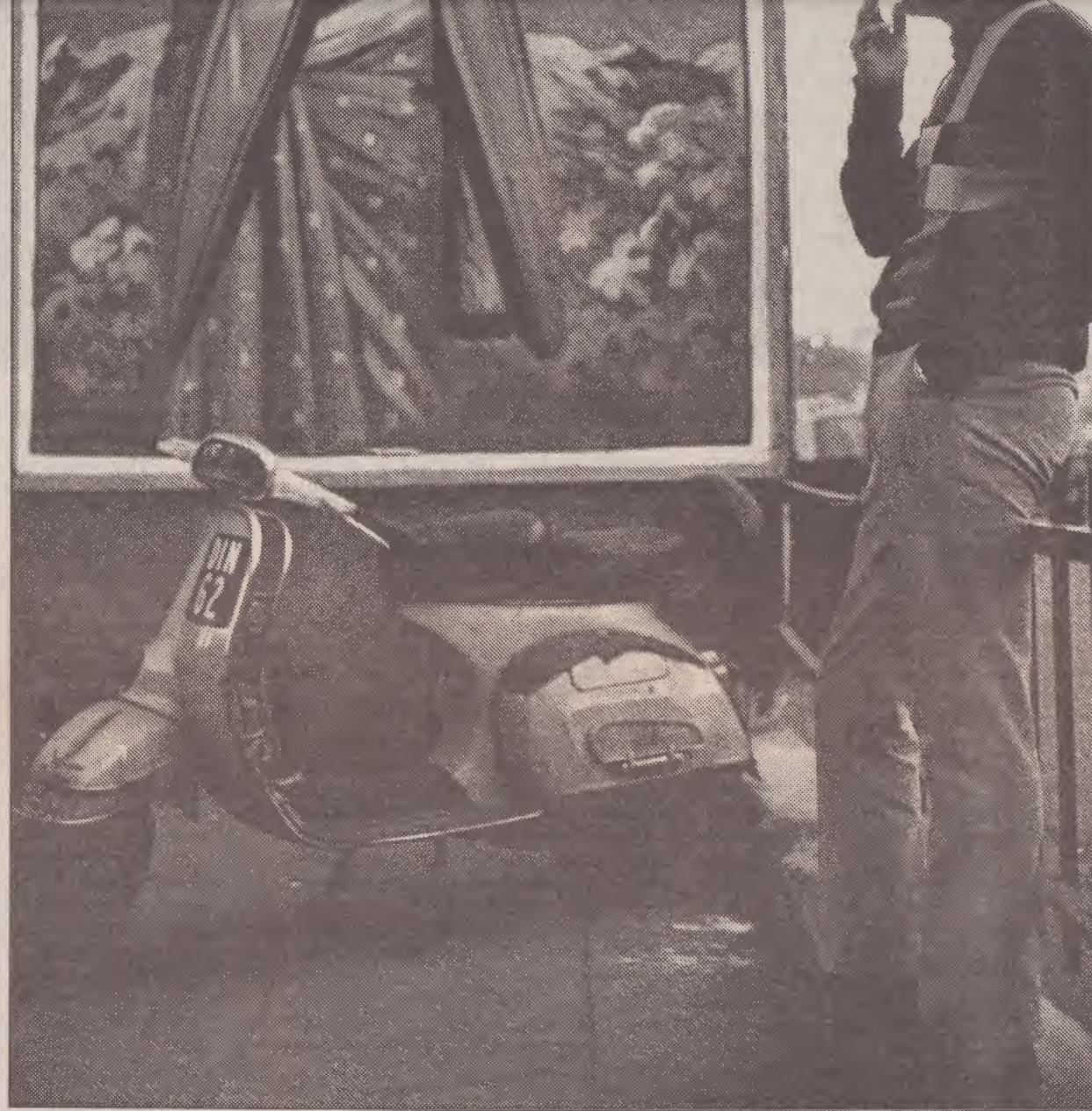


Photo by Orde Eliason, Impact Visuals

even the most apparently progressive men. Our social common sense is still overwhelmingly "masculinist."

Secondly, the "educate women program" often leaves women only with an uneasy awareness of their lot, but fails to mobilize them into an empowered mass. Fighting patriarchy, even solely at the family and local level, is never an individual effort. It must be a group activity. In any case, the women subjected to such "emancipatory" struggles do not mostly participate in defining their rights or in constructing their analytical framework.

Thirdly, seeking compensation and redress in courts, or protection by the police, is impossible. The numerous

cases of rapes and death in custody, rape by the army and anti-woman laws far outnumber the tokenism offered by the state to women, like positions in a few white-collar jobs. In any case, the institutions of state power are our inheritance from the colonial administration. It is most unlikely then that they could be the site of any libertarian exercise.

## THIRD WORLD CONTEXT

In various complex ways the women's question is linked on the basic level to the questions of class, identity, and autonomy—which are general societal problems. Thus,



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## THIRD WORLD CONTEXT

In various complex ways the women's question is linked on the basic level to the questions of class, identity, and autonomy—which are general societal problems. Thus, the major premise of the intellectual input into our feminism is a definitive Third World perspective.

However much we invoke the notions of universal sisterhood, however much we might share common experience throughout the globe as women under patriarchy, we realize that our movement must have its own concepts, our indigenous forms of language and expression, our own targets to be identified, our own enemies, and our own points of mobilization. In other words, our women's movements must be theorized in our Third World context and must take into account the specific forms in which exploitation is embedded in social relations and sexuality.

That the notion of identity must also be addressed from within the gender question is evident from the way in which the rise of militant communal identities has wolverine large sections of Indian women.

The women who went to participate in the demolition of the mosque at Ayodha, or the upper-caste women of [the town of] Chandrapur who paraded lower-caste women naked in the name of authentic religion—some women seem to be militantly, if not violently, empowered as a caste—"virtuous" women following their husbands in the latter's social moral project.

# Anarcha-Feminism and Separatism in Chicago

BY KATE STAR

**R**IOT GRRRL. WAC. WHAM. GUERRILLA GIRLS. Sisterserpents. The '90s are exhibiting a reemergence of anarchic feminist organizing. These groups' notable absence of leaders, anti-authoritarianism, and decentralized, non-hierarchical, anti-bureaucratic structures are forms of feminist organizing that were all but non-existent during the '80s. These groups are responding to a clear lack of compassion for women's concerns in capitalist and statist systems. They are equally tired of the centralized, reformist, mainstream established feminists organizations such as NOW and NARAL that usurped hegemony from the small, leaderless consciousness-raising and action groups of the late '60s and '70s. This new wave of radical feminist groups claim direct action tactics and "exercise our full creative power to launch a visible and remarkable resistance" (WAC Mission Statement) to end patriarchy.

Women's Action Coalition (WAC) originally formed in NYC in January 1992 out of collective anger over attacks on abortion rights and the treatment of Anita Hill. Both events exhibited the inability of the US legal system to address the

needs of women. WAC chapters, if they can be called chapters of a group that has no defined leaders nor any central/national directing office, have sprung up all over the US, from Seattle to Boston. The Chicago group started about a year ago, doing actions like defacing billboards and handing out children's drawings asking "Can you tell if this kid has a lesbian mom?" Recently they dropped caskets painted with women's names and decorated with flowers in different parts of the Loop, accompanied by flyers with statistics about domestic violence. WAC is anarchic in that it is made up of autonomous members in free association, is non-hierarchical and decentralized. WAC meets community demands as needed and dissolves when unnecessary.

However, WAC lacks historical perspective in their work. An awareness and understanding of anarchism could help them by providing historical examples of non-hierarchical organizing, as well as a fuller critique of capitalism and the state. With no explicit connections drawn between capitalism and patriarchy, their lack of class analysis allows WAC to be

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NERJEE, ASA NEWS  
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## *Patriarchy and Resistance*

# The Women's Movement in India



Photo by Orde Eliason, Impact Visuals

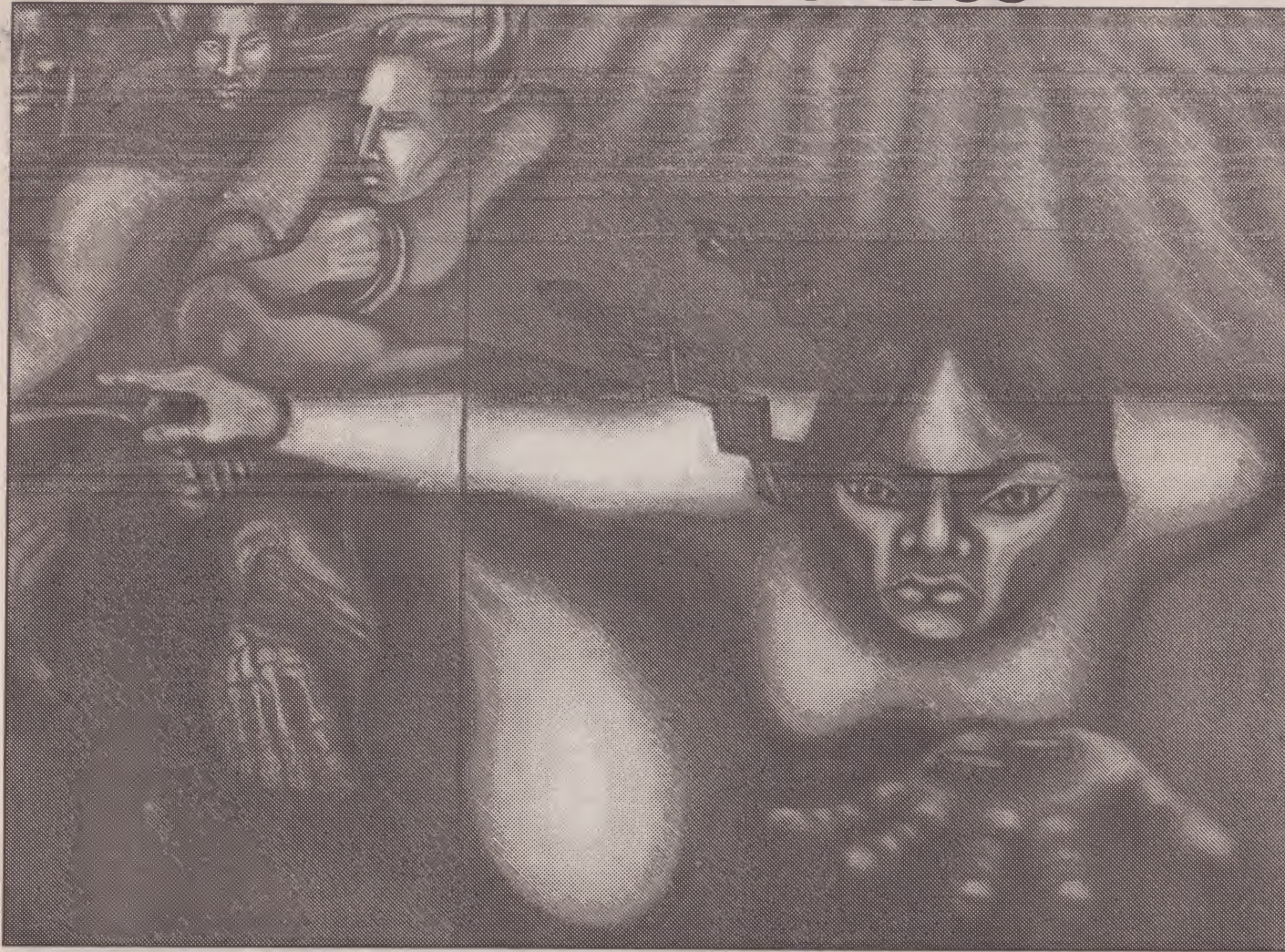
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# Machismo in México



BY ANA LAURA HERNÁNDEZ

**W**HEN ONE SPEAKS OF SEXISM, machismo, women's liberation and their current difficulties, an infinity of articles, pamphlets, theses, books, discourses, debates and conversations come to mind. They are developed from all the ideological positions current and yet to exist. This article seeks, from an anarchy-feminist focus, to center in these themes beginning with personal experience and the specifics of the macho scene in México. To begin, we must take into account that there are themes that are taboo in Mexican society

who was exploited and used by the invaders. In this manner Latin America became mestizo while North America became "white." The rape and abuse of women, in addition to the subjugation of the native peoples and their powerlessness in the face of the conquistadors, provoked the discrimination and rejection of women on the part of the men of their own towns; women were doubly oppressed.

No emancipating or liberating achievements came about with the war for independence (1810). It only produced a breaking with the Spanish crown where Creoles

the fight. As a result of this "revolution," real emancipation, which would have shown the way to a free society, was not achieved. Sadly, the old values disguised as revolutionary ideas, triumphed, rather than the liberatory program and the anarchist ideals that were so deeply rooted in the revolutionary movement.

In these times of "revolutionary" conflicts, a character intimately connected with Mexican machismo arose: El Charro [literally, course youth]. El Charro is a stereotype that represents the maximum expression of sexism in this land. Paradoxically, he appeared

bodies and of our lives, we stumble across attitudes which appear more like begging for our rights instead of demanding them. The position of the Academy centers on the dispensation of abortion (showing that this is used for extortion and that in practice it isn't really penalized) rather than focusing on the primary and basic fact: the inescapable right that we have over our own bodies and lives. Another example of how this right is poorly dealt with and argued for is the misleading way in which the supposed-"feminist" Martha Lamas, much before the misleading term "plebiscite" became popular ("plebiscite" is a juridical figure which doesn't exist in the Positive Mexican Law—a difference from most other states) called for a plebiscite on abortion rights. Did anyone call for a plebiscite on the right to walk, or the right to breathe? In the same way, the right to choose and the right to decide about our bodies are unquestionable rights of ours, which the state, the Church, other institutions, and men in particular, cannot deprive us of.

As I said at the beginning of this article, in alternative milieus nefarious patriarchal values still persist. We haven't achieved the eradication of all of these bad things that continue to oppress us in our everyday happenings, impeding the real advance of our ideas. The experience that we had as women who attended the Anarchist Gathering which took place in Ocotopac, Morelos, México [two years ago], is further proof of how these attitudes predominate in spaces where we think they don't exist.

To begin, the presence of women at that gathering in comparison to the total participation of those attending was minimal; as always child care, cleaning and cooking were "attended to" by women (and no one objected to this way of doing things). Never were the problems of women included in the agenda, and when this idea rose up in one of the work tables (Panel number 2, Culture, Organization and Education) the majority of the male participants didn't permit the development of a deep discussion, in spite of our protests and efforts. The results were the same as always: "Yes, we support them, but this is not the moment," "have your own panel" (as if machismo and sexism were only the problems of women and not of everyone). The discussion remained relegated to a future meeting and a study group of women.

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Unfortunately, in the sectors where it is supposed that there is interest in changing the human situation, there exists little or no profound discussion, which is indispensable for real change in the society we criticize and for the rising up of the new society we seek.

One of the principal causes of this blindness is institutionalized machismo, which throughout history has been rooted in our minds and manifests itself through each of the attitudes of our daily lives.

We live in the middle of a patriarchal society that extends itself across the length and width of the planet, in large- and small-scale to every place in the world; the authority of men over all of the other creatures on the earth is palpable.

If we go back in the history of Latin America we find that in pre-Hispanic native societies machismo already manifested itself in the treatment of women, who were relegated to an inferior position; to this evil was added the succession of historical evils we have lived since the Spanish invasion,

who was exploited and used by the invaders. In this manner Latin America became mestizo while North America became "white." The rape and abuse of women, in addition to the subjugation of the native peoples and their powerlessness in the face of the conquistadors, provoked the discrimination and rejection of women on the part of the men of their own towns; women were doubly oppressed.

No emancipating or liberating achievements came about with the war for independence (1810). It only produced a breaking with the Spanish crown where Creoles (children of Spaniards born in the colonies) and the clergy of the ex-colony assumed political power and administration, inheriting patriarchal values and charged with maintaining them in the newly born nation. Women, mestizos and native peoples remained oppressed by the new dominant class, and in the same conditions: degraded, poor, and dispossessed.

It wasn't until 100 years later, with the explosion of the Revolution (1910) that all of these degraded and dispossessed gathered their forces to take part in the fight for their rights. It's because of this that the participation of women played an important role in the revolutionary fight of the Mexican insurrection. Nevertheless, the caudillism and superlative machismo of the leaders, relegated their role to that of the "adelitas" (women who participated in armed struggle were disparagingly called *soldaderas* "little soldiers") recognizing only their heroism as the dedicated wives or women who stayed by their men at all times, following him to

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In México today, the situation has not changed. The control and oppression against women is made evident every step of our lives. Domestic violence, sexual assaults, prostitution, are everyday acts that demonstrate this. A concrete example of how the government, the Church and institutions in power control our bodies and our lives is the illegality of abortion. The Church and the terrorist "pro-life" groups are the principal obstacles to the legalization of abortion. Even worse, within the Mexican feminist movement, and in the program of organizations like the Academy for Human Rights, which is supposed to have positions in favor of control of our

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Patriarchy is a global evil that oppresses all of us (white, Africans, Natives, mestizas, etc.) in all parts of the world. It is because of this that we must be in solidarity in our fight and we must educate and create the consciousness in our male comrades that this is everyone's problem; that they are those who have the responsibility to change their attitudes and crush patriarchy once and for all.★

## Reflections on Domestic Work



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To the Aztec people (excellent warriors, governed and directed by priests and chief warriors, with an emperor chosen by divine mandate), the idea of defeat, and of the victory of the invaders, was unacceptable. Here is where one of the strongest misogynist conceptions comes to influence the Mexican people: they point to La Malinche (guide and translator for Hernán Cortés), considered to be the woman traitor, "guilty" for the defeat of the Aztec empire.

There are events that explain the different attitudes of Latin American and North American (US and Canadian) societies toward women. Both invaders (Spanish and English) reproduced their respective patriarchal bosses and committed bloody genocide. The first Spanish invaders were men, different from the English invaders who emigrated in whole colonies; for this reason the Spaniards not only needed the native population to exploit the riches of the invaded earth, but also the native woman,

ing with the Spanish crown where Creoles (children of Spaniards born in the colonies) and the clergy of the ex-colony assumed political power and administration, inheriting patriarchal values and charged with maintaining them in the newly born nation. Women, mestizos and native peoples remained oppressed by the new dominant class, and in the same conditions: degraded, poor, and dispossessed.

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# Reflections on Domestic Work

By BEATRIX

[Excerpted from Ekintza Zuzena]

**T**HROUGHOUT HISTORY WOMEN have been told that their "natural duty" was the care of the home and the children, but where does the "natural" character come from? That "natural" duty comes couched in biological justification—such as menstruation or pregnancy—by those who try to demonstrate the supposed mental and physical inferiority of women, so that they can be obligated to remain in the home and be prevented from engaging in other work activities.

With time, this situation came to be something socially acceptable, something "normal." We find that patriarchy converts a biological dichotomy into a social dichotomy, obligating women to occupy themselves for life with the children, the home and the male, while the male dedicates himself to the public sphere without restrictions, freeing himself conveniently of the domestic tasks that are also his to do.

## THE ABSENCE OF REBELLION

The question we ask ourselves now is the following: Why do women not rebel against this unjustly imposed social role? To answer this question would mean digging into the roots of patriarchy and history, a very long task. Nonetheless, we will provide various reasons for the absence of rebellion. We will not go further back than the 19th Century, in which there was a great ideological attack whose objective was the reclusion of women in the home. The figure of the domestic woman emerged as a feminine ideal in all social strata.

Thus is begun the myth of feminine affect, which is, in turn, used to reinforce the reclusion of women in the home. This myth consists in trying to demonstrate an affectability, or "special sensibility," that women possess in an "innate" form and that men do not have. That sensibility pushes women further from the public sphere—because of the great rudeness of

the public—and ensures the care of the home and the children.

All of these situations that come dragging to us from the past remain more or less the same today, with few modifications. Ignorance (the lack of real knowledge about women in a patriarchal system) and the myth of feminine affectability are both presented as reasons for the lack of rebellion.

"Each girl who comes into the world brings with her a destiny predetermined with such clarity that she does not need anyone to decipher it for her. Before a boy knows whether he will be a farmer, laborer, office worker, or manager, the girl has already learned that she will have a house and that it will keep her busy." (M<sup>a</sup> A. Durán)

## INTERMINABLE DAYS

One of the characteristics of domestic work is that it is never over. Carrying out

(Continued to page 7)



**A**LTHOUGH ANARCHISTS HAVE been debating questions of sex, desire, and power for quite some time now, little attention has been paid to the actual political actions which emerge out of people's positions on these questions. This article attempts to think about sexuality, gender, and desire in terms of how anarchist communities organize themselves. It comes out of my engagement with the anarchist bookstore collective here in Montréal, where we have debated the intricacies of erotic magazines such as *Taste of Latex (ToL)*.

A bit of background information is required: the collective has a policy whereby we will not accept material which is deemed to be racist, sexist, homophobic, or statist. For example, if a particular magazine carries amazing coverage of the environmental movement, yet publishes anti-feminist articles, we will not carry it. Sometimes we may make an exception, accepting a statist newspaper if, for instance, it presents material on, say, native land claims which is unavailable elsewhere. Less frequently, we carry a magazine but add a cover page or explanatory letter which outlines concerns collective members may have with a particular article. Some people believe that *ToL* contains violent images which are degrading to women. Thus, according to bookstore policy, we should not carry the magazine.

In what follows, I want to investigate the political effects of these argumentative strategies: if we believe that *ToL* is anti-feminist, how do we organize ourselves against it? If we endorse the magazine, then what do we do?

To adopt a position that "s/m is bad" assumes that other sexual practices (i.e., non-s/m sex) are inherently good. This

scenes, in other words, which is offensive. The distasteful nature of these representations justifies a political action of refusing to carry the magazine. Note the relation established here: what these pictures and stories mean determines how we act. Representation precedes the political.

While the *ToL* debates may seem to be specific to our situation here in Montréal, I believe they are exemplary of dominant trends within anarchist politics more generally. The May-June 1992 issue of *Profane Existence*, for example, contained graphics with the words "SM=PAIN, DOMINATION AND POWER. DOMINATION IS DOMINATION, PAIN IS PAIN, POWER IS POWER."

I worry about an invocation of the words "violence," "power," "pain," and "domination" in this context. Who decides what constitutes violence? If I whip someone with a cat'o'nine tails is that "violence"? If I whip them with strawberry licorice, is that violence? If I tie someone up with steel linked chains, is that degradation? If I tie them up with skipping rope, is that? If my partner asks me to tie her up and fuck her brains out, and if I proceed to tie her up and fuck her brains out, or I proceed to tie her up but not fuck her brains out, does this mean I'm insensitive, bad in bed, or the ultimate tease? Again, who decides, and to what political end?

These are the kinds of questions an anti-s/m position cannot and will not ask. It refuses to consider the ways in which these representations, practices, and desires can be articulated in a mutual, consensual environment. The context in which these images are produced, or consumed, is not discussed, since these representations have already been condemned as "violent."

A critical perspective on sexual libera-



They force us to account for the specific communities in which these representations are created and consumed. And they ask us to struggle against dominant power relations of sexism and compulsory heterosexuality, without sacrificing a reflexive, experimental sexual life.

One of the things I pointed out earlier was that the primary objections raised to *ToL* posit representation before the political. I think it is worth pointing out that this ostensibly "anarchist" position is markedly

mean and for whom, remain questions worthy of consideration. Living in Canada, we must acknowledge that the state wants nothing to do with such a debate. And its primary weapon is the literal removal of these "obscene" publications. In this light, politics determines representation—what it means, where it can be seen, and who can see (or be in) it.

Indeed, the state relies on the simplistic logic embodied in statements like "porn is bad" for its effective functioning. Ironically,

# A Taste of Latex, A Taste of Anarchy

argument obscures the negotiation which is a part of all sexual practices. Once the complexity of sexuality has been sidestepped, it can easily be regulated. The State's redefinition of "obscenity" in Canada relies on exactly this conception of sexuality—that it is an objective entity that can be isolated, and that it can be further divided into "good" and "bad" camps. Many anarchists share the same position as the current Canadian

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- 1) explicit sex with violence, whether actual or threatened (almost always obscenity)
- 2) explicit sex which is degrading or dehumanizing (can be obscene if risk of

anarchist contributions to sexual politics have reproduced this faulty reasoning. "Domination is domination. Pain is pain. Power is power." "*ToL* is bad, it has s/m imagery in it." Once again, non-s/m sex is championed as some kind of pure ideal against which s/m perversions are measured. This argument obscures the manner in which negotiation is a part of all sexual relations, desires, identities, and actions.



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Some people think that the images in *ToL* depict violence against women. If I understand them correctly, they argue that despite the fact that women may consent to sexual activity involving pain, pleasure, and mutilation, the actions remain "violent." It is the depiction of these "graphic"

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The most obvious question, then, arises: how do we find out what we do and don't like if we never grant ourselves permission to play? How do we decide what is unacceptable if we never think about the layered nuances of meaning present in all representations, preferring instead to condemn them with that hateful word "violence"!?!?

Magazines like *Taste of Latex* are important because they encourage people to explore their limits, defying any easy classification of sexual identities and practices.

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- 1) explicit sex with violence, whether actual or threatened (almost always obscenity)
- 2) explicit sex which is degrading or dehumanizing (may be obscene if risk of harm is substantial)
- 3) explicit sex without violence which is neither degrading nor dehumanizing (not obscene unless involving children)

LEAF, the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund, lobbied intensively to get Butler passed into law. They believe that pornography equals violence against women. (There's that "v"-word again!) Interestingly, in order to convince the all-male judges as to the veracity of this claim, LEAF representatives showed them gay-male s/m pornography. They reasoned (correctly so, unfortunately) that judges would not relate to the "subservient" position of women in porn. But if they were to see men being "dominated," if they were forced to imagine themselves in this "degrading" position, then they would see the light!

The strategy worked: a unanimous Supreme Court decision. Quite a rarity, and one which makes it extremely difficult to change the existing legislation. But LEAF's strategy depended on the by-now familiar position of "porn is bad." They were not interested in making distinctions about where this porn was produced, or for whom, nor did they envision a coalition among lesbians, gay men, and feminists. Quite simply, LEAF used the rhetorical

anarchist contributions to sexual politics have reproduced this faulty reasoning. "Domination is domination. Pain is pain. Power is power." "*ToL* is bad, it has s/m imagery in it." Once again, non-s/m sex is championed as some kind of pure ideal against which s/m perversions are measured. This argument obscures the manner in which negotiation is a part of all sexual relations, desires, identities, and practices. X and Y never just are, despite the rhetorical strategies offered by some under the banner of "anarchy." X and Y exist in relation to each other, and it seems to me that a valuable anarchist politic would discuss these relations, contexts, and situations.

The adoption of an "anarchist" line that "s/m is violence" prevents precisely this kind of discussion. In the midst of this flawed reasoning, we who choose to engage in these practices, we who adopt these identities, we who dare to be public about our desires: we are the first casualties in a never-quite-stated test of who is a "real" anarchist. Instead of taking the risk of exploring our individual and collective limits, this kind of anarchy remains trapped within an isolation of the worst kind: One where we focus on purging all undesirables from the circle-a movement.

And so, I submit that an endorsement of *ToL* is a political move entirely in keeping with anarchy. Indeed, to call for its banishment from the bookstore shelves on the basis of its "violent" images is to bolster the Canadian state.

As individuals interested in social change, we should do well to reflect on the similarities our argumentative strategies share with our allies and opponents. Is it not somewhat





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In the year that has followed, Butler has been applied rather selectively: a high school fanzine in Windsor, a women's art exhibition, the lesbian periodical *Bad Attitude*, as well as almost any lesbian and gay periodical trying to make its way across the Canada-US border. Why is it that Butler, endorsed by pro-censorship heterosexual feminists, is primarily being used against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered individuals and communities?

It is much too simple, I suggest, to posit a direct relation between representation and politics. What images mean, how they

relations, desires, identities, and practices. X and Y never just are, despite the rhetorical strategies offered by some under the banner of "anarchy." X and Y exist in relation to each other, and it seems to me that a valuable anarchist politic would discuss these relations, contexts, and situations.

The adoption of an "anarchist" line that "s/m is violence" prevents precisely this kind of discussion. In the midst of this flawed reasoning, we who choose to engage in these practices, we who adopt these identities, we who dare to be public about our desires: we are the first casualties in a never-quite-stated test of who is a "real" anarchist. Instead of taking the risk of exploring our individual and collective limits, this kind of anarchy remains trapped within an isolation of the worst kind: One where we focus on purging all undesirables from the circle-a movement.

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As individuals interested in social change, we should do well to reflect on the similarities our argumentative strategies share with our allies and opponents. Is it not somewhat ironic that both the Canadian state and self-identified anarchists endorse an empty, rhetorical position that "pornography is bad"?! Is it not a paradox that the victims of masculinist violence adopt a proposition which relies on heterosexist conceptions of both men and women? And is it not interesting that once this position is adopted, little discussion takes place on what constitutes an appropriate intervention? Anarchist debates on the content and nature of material labeled "pornography" do not occur in a vacuum. However we choose to address these issues, we need to think about the ways in which our arguments and actions support, or challenge, hegemonic constructions of gender, desire and sexuality.★

[Kiwi works at *Librairie Alternative* in Montréal, can't decide on any one gender identity, and thinks that perversion is an integral part of anarchist politics.]

## Towards a Perverse Anarchist Politic... By Kiwi



# Future Imperfect

## A Review of *Women on the Edge of Time*

BY RACHEL

**M**ARGE PIERCY'S *WOMAN ON THE Edge of Time* is usually read as a feminist science-fiction novel. As such, it's certainly enjoyable and well-written. In describing both the problems of our society and what a future society might look like, Piercy incorporates a lot of complex political ideas. These kinds of ideas and questions are significant to anarchists as people who are struggling to bring about a better world, one that in some ways has strong similarities to what Piercy envisions.

*Woman on the Edge of Time* is about a poor Chicana named Connie. While imprisoned in a mental hospital she is visited by an envoy from the future named Luciente. Connie has the unique ability to mentally visit the future world, and does so many times, describing her thoughts about it.

This future world, a small village called Mattapoissett, is somewhere in the area once known as New England (which was probably originally known as Mattapoissett). It is very much an anarchist society, in that there are no states or nations. Life is very free and communal; there is no ownership of private property, no inequality between people.

The society uses selected kinds of sophisticated technology to live quite simply in a natural environment. There are no large cities, just villages. They have no central authority, except for a township planning council, which mainly carries out administrative work. The sexes look basically alike, babies are grown in labs, and men are mothers as well. Bisexuality is the norm.

As Connie visits Mattapoissett more, though, she discovers that all is not well. In

with the earth, celebrating the rituals of life. They have the ability to communicate with the animals, but are not neo-primitives. The technology they have is mainly used to improve communications or health, not material items. It is meant to be a society built on diversity and tolerance. Race or ethnicity, since everyone is mixed, is something people can choose for themselves. People share jobs so that no one gets bored, and they can change "careers" and even their own names whenever they want to. Sex roles are just as fluid; men can nurse babies.

All of these anarchistic elements are, for Piercy, part of the dynamism of the society. A dynamic society is one that accepts change, that progresses. There are no walls to box people into categories of gender, race or class. Probably the most dynamic part of the society is that it is not

assumed to be perfect—there are still things to work at and fight for. The idea of flux is central to Mattapoissett, and its elements of fluid gender roles, work, beliefs about the cycle of life, and notions of learning and education as a lifelong process, etc., all reflect this.

This dynamic society doesn't come out of nowhere. It is very much related to Marxian conceptions of revolution as an ongoing process—yet another reason that Mattapoissett is not utopian. If we accept the idea of revolution as not just a single event after which everything is magically changed, but as something that is continuing, then that society, by definition, must be dynamic.

In some cases, though, Piercy goes astray. The androgyny in Mattapoissett is problematic because it implies that to be equal, men and women must be alike. One of the characters explains that women have given up the ability to have babies, and they grow embryos artificially instead, because "...as long as we were biologically enchained, we'd never be equal." (p. 105) Clearly, they are defining the inequalities between the sexes as a function of biology. This is tempting, but it obscures the fact that the problem is not the actual biological differences, but rather the socially constructed ones (which use biology as an excuse), that are loaded with hierarchical thinking.

Piercy's solution for race/ethnicity is too easy. Everyone is genetically mixed, so

people freely adopt a culture, and each village can also adopt a culture. "But we broke the bond between genes and culture, broke it forever. We want there to be no chance of racism again...We want diversity, for strangeness breeds richness." (p. 104)

I'm not convinced that culture is something that can be adopted. Piercy is making too little of the complex processes of socialization, not too mention the diverse nature of culture. And she's also linking culture to biology—saying that people have to be genetically a certain way (mixed, in this case) to be able to choose their culture. Logically, it follows that if a person is of a definite race or ethnicity, then they will necessarily be linked to a particular culture, and that's a dangerous supposition to make. Again, Piercy is implying that biological, not social differences, are the root of inequalities—basically, biological determinism. Once again, she is suggesting that people have to be alike, in terms of being mixed, to be equal. In that sense, it actually sounds like a very homogeneous society.

I hope, in contrast to Piercy's ideas about race and gender, that it's possible to have a definition of equality that is heterogeneous. Anarchists need to distance ourselves from these liberal ideas about equality that would force everyone to be the same, thus excluding those who are not. Instead, we can embrace an equality that allows for all our differences—that lets us be free as well as equal. ★





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As Connie visits Mattapoisett more, though, she discovers that all is not well. In her own life, she is trapped in a horrible mental hospital where the doctors want to carry out a mind-control experiment to force her to submit mentally. She finds that Mattapoisett is at war with another possible future world, a place that is exactly its opposite: a capitalist hell taken to extremes. The experiment about to be performed on Connie will become the basis for the alternate future, and it is up to Connie to take action to prevent it.

Within the story, Piercy makes some important political points. One of the central things about *Woman on the Edge of Time* is that it is not actually a utopia. A utopia is a vision of a "perfect" society that is complete, and the utopian writer provides no means for people to get there, except by accident. It is totally imaginary, by definition.

This is what Friedrich Engels was criticizing in his essay, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." Utopian societies like those described by William Morris, Charles Fourier, and Saint-Simon (all men) have no possibility of coming into being. They are either imaginary islands that exist in the future (or some undefined time), or else there is no specific concept of revolutionary change to bring them about.

The crucial difference with Mattapoisett

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Art By Seth Tobocman

## Feminism in India

(Continued from page 3)

Though these women's voice is patriarchal ideology, it is neither fair nor correct to dismiss them as deluded by a false sense of liberation. The general need for a "posi-

ing to go for jobs, even middle-class women in clerical and office work, they are doing so to run the households, an extension of their domestic responsibility, and to earn their own dowry.

The space of the market and employemnt

ment of liberation on gender lines must address in theory the question of class and culture, feminism is by no means a less urgent question than any other question of liberation. In fact, in the ultimate analysis, it is impossible to liberate ourselves if we are not liberated totally.

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The crucial difference with Mattapoisett is that it is a possible future, because it depends on the actions of individuals in the "past" to bring it about. What sets Mattapoisett apart from other ideal societies is its attainability. And there is an alternate, hellish future that could also happen if people make different choices.

There is an inconsistency though, because Piercy emphasizes individual action rather than collective action or societal forces as the agents of change. If we as anarchists think that the form our revolution takes is just as important as the society we want to build, then I think it would be difficult to bring about a communal society such as Mattapoisett just through individual actions. An individualist revolution would reproduce the exact social conditions we're fighting against.

Despite that paradox, Mattapoisett is an anarchistic society. It has no economy, because there is no ownership. When Connie asks where the government and police are, all she gets are confused looks. People have a harmonious relationship



Art By Seth Tobocman

## Feminism in India

(Continued from page 3)

Though these women's voice is patriarchal ideology, it is neither fair nor correct to dismiss them as deluded by a false sense of liberation. The general need for a "positive" identity in our society must be recognized and politically addressed.

That gender is also inextricably linked with class is evident. The so-called modernization of Indian society has had a sharp regressive impact on the poor women—from the "green revolution" in agriculture of the '60s to today, when the state is privatizing and liberalizing the economy, linking it without reservation to the vagaries of world finance.

For women, this distorted capitalist development has meant increasing landlessness, dependence on wages which are often less than those of men, the shifting of their labor to unregulated sectors like casual and seasonal jobs, and the "invisibilization" of their labor within households and unorganized sectors. In industry, mechanization means that women are the first to be retrenched [laid off], even in traditional industrial sectors like the cotton textiles in Bombay and Admedabad where women were once 90% of the employed, now they constitute only 5%. If more women are hav-

ing to go for jobs, even middle-class women in clerical and office work, they are doing so to run the households, an extension of their domestic responsibility, and to earn their own dowry.

The space of the market and employment has not become a common public space, it is still a male space where women enter with lots of constraints. It is not incidental that such arguments are successfully used—that women should return to their traditional roles and leave the limited sphere of employment free for unemployed men.

### CLASS AND IDENTITY

When the gender issue operates in our society in such complex relations with class and identity, how must the women's movement organize itself?

The conventional way of putting the gender question lower on the priority list, to see class as a more urgent moment of mobilization, often reflects the patriarchal biases within the radical left movement. In any case, such prioritization has failed to work. We have seen overall how this has failed to mobilize an adequate number of women, and the women involved have remained dissatisfied and bitter.

Though it is clear by now that any move-

ment of liberation on gender lines must address in theory the question of class and culture, feminism is by no means a less urgent question than any other question of liberation. In fact, in the ultimate analysis, it is impossible to liberate ourselves if we are not liberated totally.

No social revolutionary movement can establish legitimacy in society by leaving some sections behind, or by confirming with silence any form of exploitation. The question of gender liberation then cannot be subsumed under the generalized interest of any one social grouping, even if the working class is not conscious of its patriarchal traditions.

Finally, one must identify the gender question not only because it can provide a critique of patriarchy. Feminism defines different power-processes: patriarchy; neo-colonial models of development; cultural imperialism; and semi-feudal authoritarianism of indigenous social relations. From an organically developed feminist perspective, it is possible to provide a simultaneous, consistent, and total critique of all the dimensions in a Third World society.

Feminism in the Third World must be harnessed to make itself visible and heard. If Marx found the proletariat to be the carrier of the revolution for they had nothing to lose, then women have a greater revolutionary potential. For they are doubly victims, doubly the losers—one as stricken by poverty, and the other as women in a patriarchal society. ★



# The Work of Women is Making History

By LAURA SCHERE

AS THE SPEAKERS AT THE *MEETING the Challenge* labor conference (Jan. 28-29) knew quite well, the sure-fire way to draw yips and shouts out of a usually timid Minnesota "progressive" audience is to pay homage to the legacy of the Minneapolis truckers' strike of 1934. And the clamor is well-deserved, for what we'll be celebrating at the 60th anniversary this July is not just the final defeat of capital's iron-fisted open-shop policy in Minneapolis. The militant class warfare of the truckers' strike, and the labor reform legislation passed on its heels (the Wagner Act of 1935), serve as prime examples that reform in this country is achieved when people vote not with a ballot, but with their feet, and in many cases with their clubs and paving stones. But, as Elizabeth Faue points out in her book, *Community of Suffering and Struggle: Women, Men and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis, 1915-1945*, if we celebrate '34 as the peak of Minnesota labor radicalism, we reinforce a history of Minnesota and US labor that erases its most revolutionary elements.

The labor movement quickly mythologized the truckers' strike with language, images, and symbols portraying strong men shouldering responsibilities for the entire working class. Faue's study reveals this macho myth-making as part of a shift in American labor that left behind a tradition of community-based organizing and a history of women's activism.

On reading Charles Walker's first published accounts of the strike, Minnesota activist and author Meridel Le Sueur wrote, "I have lived in the stress of labor battles for a good many years, and I have seen battles won and battles lost—but I have never seen a way of life given to the people of a whole city by the winning of a single battle." By equating the history of the truckers' union with the history of Minneapolis labor as a whole, and by dubbing the General Drivers local 574 the "dynamo of change" that powered the city's transformation, labor historians, "while highlighting a critical moment for the city's working class...rendered other aspects of the local

Faue addresses the failure of the US labor movement not primarily on economic but cultural grounds, locating its current failure in a cultural crisis rooted in labor's boom period, the 1930s. Her book revisits this critical moment to tease out an alternative, what I would call the social-revo-

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working stiff dwarfing capitalism and war, hunger and death reassured the "forgotten man" of the Depression of his identity. "It was the mask behind which the uncertain victory of the working class might become a reality." With this expedient popular-front strategy, aimed at entering the mainstream of US politics, the labor movement sold out the tradition of community organizing and moved steadily toward bureaucratic, centralized unionism, ensuring the marginalization of women. Faue illustrates this shift in fascinating detail.

The legacy of a generation of committed, powerful, '30s women organizers gives an interesting perspective on Faue's argument. Dismissed by feminists and other post-women's-liberation leftists as dupes of what amounts to patriarchy of a different (red) stripe, legendary women activists of the '30s (CP women in particular) are a fascinating, if puzzling, inspiration. In what amounts to a side note, Faue tries to get at the motivations of '30s women activists. "It may be that the images and texts of the labor movement, which coded and expressed class conflict in gendered terms, were subverted by working women's own perception that they, too, were included in the notions of solidarity." These women acted on this perception, later exhaustively theorized by socialist feminists, as if it were common sense. Despite their marginalization from labor and feminist history, they stand out as heroines of an unfinished battle.

As a nonpartisan labor historian, Faue steers as clear as she can from the ideological battles of the left, but her perspective is eminently political. She brings the discussion of labor politics and strategy out of bureaucratic union boardrooms and back to its grassroots origins. The alternative tradition she champions should inform any talk of "Meeting the Challenge." Health care and NAFTA, the two big issues on labor's plate, pull the movement out from bureaucratic, reformist interest group politics and into at least contemplation of coalition work. However, at this point, the discussion of developing "social policy" comes not from vital community-based labor



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Faue's exhaustively researched and sharply written book offers the best in feminist labor history. Her study doesn't stop at recovering the activities of women unionists, but traces an alternative, "feminist" tradition in American labor, one that expanded the terrain of struggle beyond the workplace and recognized the centrality of "symbolic and biological reproduction." Only this kind of struggle, she asserts, could encompass more marginalized elements of the labor movement, such as women and Blacks.



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Not the '34 strike but the 1918 walkout of the Minneapolis telephone operators takes center stage in Faue's alternative mythology of Minneapolis labor. The "Hello Girls" embody a pre-World War tradition of women's and men's activism, pluralist tactics, and the involvement of both workers and family members. The strike's intricate organization criss-crossed boundaries of community and workplace and broke the gendered cast of this community/workplace alliance, making room for "new women and new men." These flapper militants, who noisily paraded in their cloche hats (one even carried a riding whip) and broke in and sabotaged the Minneapolis exchange, pushed labor to "develop visions which accepted implicitly

activism was reborn during the Depression most notably with the Communist Party's Unemployed Councils, where women's participation was high. Communists organized around ethnic, racial, and familial identities, and sought an answer to the economic crisis among these people who were marginalized in their own communities and outside the trade union movement.

Despite this vital organizing effort, and even as women were joining unions in the hundreds of thousands, collective protest became increasingly stylized as masculine behavior. Industrial workplace organizing took prominence and women's only entry into this picture became in the guise of wife or mother.

The masculine image of the industrial

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## Housework

(Continued from page 4)

domestic work takes up between 15 and 16 hours per day. Studies show us that men do not help practically at all and that women who work outside of the home still have to do "house work" when they get

pesetas [hundreds of millions of dollars] that would otherwise have to be invested in the care of children and the elderly. In the majority of families, for example, women take care of the health of the children and the elderly, remaining with them when they need care, taking them in for checkups, etc.

If women, specifically housewives, could not give this care, the state would have to pay people to be responsible for caring for

work, but rather a natural duty. It is only recently that the feminist movement has made it possible that the concept of the housewife could be changed—and it still has not been eliminated—and that the work of women could be recognized. The feminist movement has gone even farther, to the point where now young women do not want to hear about domestic matters, and they seek as a priority their independence as people—which implies that they also do

not an advancement in the struggles for freedom and (real) equality of women in an male-centered world, because it presupposes the continuation of that work, and, in other words, maintains the sexual division of labor that consolidates all domestic work in one person. What needs to be done is to divide that work, to assume it as the responsibility of all of the members of the house, so that it can not be considered work (to do something for someone), but



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domestic work takes up between 15 and 16 hours per day. Studies show us that men do not help practically at all and that women who work outside of the home still have to do "house work" when they get home. If a normal working day is from 34 to 40 hours per week, the domestic working day is between 71 and 105 hours per week, depending on weekends, family days, etc.

## DOMESTIC WORK AS FREE LABOR WOULD SALARIES FOR HOUSEWIVES BE AN ADVANCE?

It is evident that domestic work is free work carried out primarily, but not exclusively, by women. At the same time, it is devalued work in several senses.

The first of these is purely conceptual. The census [in Spain] categorizes people who carry out domestic work an "economically inactive population." This denomination implies a total devaluation of domestic work and a depreciation of the 11 million women who carry out this work every day of their lives, saving money for the state. This takes us to the second aspect.

Domestic work benefits the state because it allows a savings of billions of

pesetas [hundreds of millions of dollars] that would otherwise have to be invested in the care of children and the elderly. In the majority of families, for example, women take care of the health of the children and the elderly, remaining with them when they need care, taking them in for checkups, etc.

If women, specifically housewives, could not give this care, the state would have to pay people to be responsible for caring for these sorts of people. But it is women who are responsible for the sick, assuming all of their care and guaranteeing that 100% of their prescribed treatment will be carried out, all the while caring for the house, and consequently saving money for the state.

We can continue imagining, and we can imagine that these services could have costs established for them; that housewives would be paid according to the prices of the market. The state would have to pay millions; we can imagine that if we could evaluate the payment that women should receive for their work in the home, it would be quite high.

The state, without doubt, is the great beneficiary of the free work of women in the home. But if this is the case, why do political parties support pay for housewives, why do other sectors of the population also support it? Is payment for housewives an advance or a setback?

The state has always shown us that production of services in the home is not free

work, but rather a natural duty. It is only recently that the feminist movement has made it possible that the concept of the housewife could be changed—and it still has not been eliminated—and that the work of women could be recognized. The feminist movement has gone even farther, to the point where now young women do not want to hear about domestic matters, and they seek as a priority their independence as people—which implies that they also do not assume patriarchal roles in other aspects of their lives. This brings a radical modification of intra-familial relationships, with the consequent absence of a person in the home who takes responsibility for carrying out all of the domestic tasks. It is most convenient for the state that such a person, permanently in the home, exist, and it is therefore in their interest to return to the home all of these wayward sheep. It is at this point that the political parties enter into the scene with their proposals for a salary; this is nothing more than a trick to try to maintain (or return) women in the home, but above all to maintain the patriarchal bases in the family and to stop, at all costs, the struggles for real emancipation by the elimination of the patriarchal state.

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## OFFERING A CANDY TO PACIFY (OR BUY OFF) CRITICISM AND REBELLION

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not an advancement in the struggles for freedom and (real) equality of women in an male-centered world, because it presupposes the continuation of that work, and, in other words, maintains the sexual division of labor that consolidates all domestic work in one person. What needs to be done is to divide that work, to assume it as the responsibility of all of the members of the house, so that it can not be considered work (to do something for someone), but rather a daily task carried out by all. No one, I insist, no one should have to clean up our domestic shit, even if they are paid to do it.

## CONCLUSIONS

Anarcha-feminist struggles need to take the course not of protecting the housewife, but of dismantling that structure. As long as they continue, we will continue to have the macho and patriarchal behavior of men that limits and impedes true emancipation.

The children are yours as much as they are ours, and you will have to care for them equally and equitably; if we share a bed to sleep or to have sex, we also share it to make it, and to wash its sheets, etc. Boys and girls should also know this, learn and share, and join in the tasks of a house of two, three, four people or a commune.

If we want to destroy the patriarchal structures, we will have to begin with the house.★



## Chicks' Space in Portland

*A Brief History of our Wimmin/Girl-Only Space at Rosebud Commons.*

**W**E HAD OUR FIRST WIMMIN/girl-only space this summer during the Holiday in Beirut gathering. Despite protests of it not being a very interesting event (mostly from men), we dialogued, ate, wrote, did pelvic examinations, and watched *Thelma & Louise*. The hushed grumbles of resistance (mostly from men) turned into large roars, but were dealt with and continue to be dealt with,

because it's bullshit. Because we need our wimmin/girl-only space. We continue to make zines, eat, work on our wimmin's self-health group, and hang out together. It's incredible, it's multi-generational, and it's spreading. We'll be having another day of wimmin and girl-only space in the new collective house that's forming. Join us! You can call or write us at:

**Rosebud Commons**  
1951 W. Burnside  
PO Box 1928  
Portland, OR 97209  
(503) 796-8100

## Operation Racketeer?

**T**HE US SUPREME COURT recently ruled that the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, which was originally written to prosecute members of the Mafia, could be used against Operation Rescue. Groups like the National Organization for Women (NOW) rejoiced, declaring this decision a major victory for the mainstream pro-choice movement.

This decision, however, is not as simple as it seems. Before the Supreme Court's ruling, lower courts had ruled that this act could be used only when an organization was involved in illegal financial activity; political and religious groups were not targets. This new ruling has serious implications for political organizers; if O.R. can be prosecuted under this act, so can anti-authoritarian activists. ★

## Actions Against Hydro-Québec

**T**O COUNTER HYDRO-QUÉBEC's (Québec's provincial utility company) 50th anniversary, the Native Forest Network (NFN) has called for international actions on Thursday, April 14. Plans are underway for rallies/actions in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco, in the US, Montréal, in Canada; and other cities in Europe and Australia.

From a provincial corporation with its own security forces to a multinational that now consults

Earth and its inhabitants. Your help is urgently needed to counter H-Q's public relations spin-doctoring and help prevent further exploitation and destruction.

For additional information:

**Eastern North American NFN**  
Orin Langelle PO Box 57  
Burlington, VT 05402 USA  
(802) 863-0571 / Fax: (802) 863-2532  
email: [peacejustice@igc.apc.org](mailto:peacejustice@igc.apc.org)



## Organizing in the War Zone

**Z**ENSKA INFOTEKA (Women's Info-Shop) was founded and registered in December, 1992, and started operating in March, 1993.

The outbreak of war in this region has had a detrimental effect on the women's movement in former Yugoslavia. The pressures and conditions of war have caused many women's organizations to disband and others to break into smaller groups, sometimes with a change in ideology and goals. We have also witnessed a fracturing of many relationships between women's groups within Croatia and across what are now national borders. Thus, there is a real threat that the activities and progress gained by the feminist movement over the years will disappear.

Infoteka was established to preserve the knowledge and

Herstory of this region, and to document and analyze the current decline in women's economic, social and political choices and conditions. Our efforts to build up resources and to provide information on women's issues will serve as a basis for our longer-term goal of reviving the feminist movement in this region, and for the foundation of Women's Studies as an academic field in Croatia.

We welcome all suggestions for collaboration in meeting these objectives.

Mica Miadineo, Kathryn Turnipseed, Durda Knezevic Zenska Infoteka, Women's Information and Documentation Center in Croatia,

Berislaviceva 14,  
41000 Zagreb, Croatia  
tel.: 385 41 276 188,  
fax.: 385 41 422 926  
email: [ZENSKAINFO\\_ZG@ZAMIR-ZG.COMLINK.DE](mailto:ZENSKAINFO_ZG@ZAMIR-ZG.COMLINK.DE)



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From a provincial corporation with its own security forces to a multinational that now consults in India, China, Guyana and elsewhere, H-Q is leaving a legacy of mega hydro-electric projects. These projects are having disastrous effects on many of the Indigenous people of Québec and the sensitive ecological areas that have been impacted. Some call it ecocide.

Stand in solidarity with the native Cree, Inuit, Innu and the native flora and fauna whose existence is now threatened by H-Q's insidious projects in eastern North America. With the approval of NAFTA and the opening of global markets, H-Q is reaching out internationally to further exploit the

Earth and its inhabitants. Your help is urgently needed to counter H-Q's public relations spin-doctoring and help prevent further exploitation and destruction.

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## Network of East-West Women

**T**HE NETWORK OF EAST-West Women (NEWW) is a communication network, creating an international discussion among feminists about gender issues in the political and social life of countries in transition in East and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Contact among women across borders is essential to enlarging the scope of women's participation in their communities and internationally. NEWW's members include writers, journalists, professors, lawyers, union organizers, students, and feminist activists from Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, eastern Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Serbia & Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, Russia, and Ukraine.

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email: [ZENSKAINFO\\_ZG@ZAMIR-ZG.COMLINK.DE](mailto:ZENSKAINFO_ZG@ZAMIR-ZG.COMLINK.DE)

Although NEWW primarily supports women's projects and activism, its long-range interest is in a change in what gender means and how it functions in society.

NEWW c/o Sonia Jaffe Robbins,  
Dept. of Journalism, NYU,  
10 Washington PL,  
NY, NY 10003 USA

tel: 212-998-7966, fax: 212-995-4148  
email: [robbinss@acfduster.nyu.edu](mailto:robbinss@acfduster.nyu.edu)

## Update on Minnesota 8

**O**N FRIDAY, JAN 7, THE racist state of Minnesota reared its ugly head once again. Shannon Bowles, the second person of the Minnesota 8 to be railroaded to prison was denied his request for a new trial. The Minnesota 8 are accused of murdering officer Jerry Haaf in a shooting last year. There was strong hope for a new trial to be granted based on a statement released by Margaret Hansch, a police reser-

During the investigation of Haaf's murder, the Minneapolis police arrested, detained, harassed and beat people in an attempt to coerce statements favorable to the prosecution. The misconduct by the MPD was not limited to the city of Minneapolis but reached as far as Illinois, Georgia and Alabama. Witnesses who could have exonerated the eight defendants are in hiding due to threats on their lives, while the police have

## Anti-racist on Trial in Mpls.

**K**IERAN FRAZIER KENUTSON, anti-racist anarchist



# NO

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**K**IERAN FRAZIER KENUTSON, anti-racist anarchist activist in Minneapolis, is currently facing two felony assault charges and up to 15 years of prison and \$30,000 in fines. He is charged with assaulting Daniel Simmer, a fascist skin-head, during an anti-fascist demonstration on the University of Minnesota campus on Oct. 22, 1993.

Simmer was arrested at the scene with brass knuckles, but no charges against him were filed. During pre-trial proceedings, Kieran was offered a plea bargain of 6 months in the "work house" and two years probation, possibly indicating that the prosecution thinks they have a strong case. Kieran goes to trial on April 12. A political support group has been formed and can be reached at:

c/o Minneapolis ABC  
PO Box 7075  
Mpls, MN 55407

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NEWW offers an extraordinary resource of contacts and information for individuals and organizations. Our keenest innovation is developing an international strategy for the lateral exchange of ideas, linking activists who have been isolated for decades. Since our inception, NEWW has provided strategy assistance and support services to academic, professional, and grassroots women and women's groups.

Below is a sampling of our many activities:

- Setting up an email network to govern ourselves internationally, to engage simultaneous discussion of issues of common concern, and to enhance mutuality of aid;
- Providing start-up funds and/or strategic assistance for women's centers, projects, conferences, publications, and grassroots activist campaigns;
- Supporting research on women's history in these countries;
- Providing information, directories and mailings;
- Helping build feminist libraries upon request;

- Arranging formal and informal gatherings for women visiting any locale in our international community;

- Doing collaborative work with individuals and organizations in media, education, environment, health care, and political lobbying.

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Although NEWW primarily supports women's projects and activism, its long-range interest is in a change in what gender means and how it functions in society.

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Dept. of Journalism, NYU,  
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Please call Warden Holbrook at Oak Park Heights where A.C., Shannon and Larry are held, and tell him to stop the harassment of these Minnesota 8 defendants. A.C. was recently thrown in the "hole" for allegedly fighting.

Warden Holbrook  
MCF Oak Park Heights  
PO Box 10  
Stillwater, MN 55082-0010  
(612) 779-1400

For further information:

The Committee Seeking Justice for the  
Minnesota Eight  
P.O. Box 40355  
St. Paul, MN 55104



# Sisters Behind Bars Need Support

(from left) Marilyn Buck, Laura Whitehorn, Susan Rosenberg, Sylvia Baraldini



## Puerto Rican POWs:

Dykia Pagan #88971-024  
Alejandrina Torres #92152-024  
Carmen Valentin #88974-0204

Ida Luiz Rodriguez #88973-024  
Haydee Beltran #88642-0204  
5701 8th St. Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

Alida Rodriguez #N07157

Box 5007  
Dwight, IL 60420

Lucy Berrios Berrios #24582-024  
3301 Leestown Rd.  
Lexington, KY 40511

## Women Fighting Back

**A**PPROXIMATELY 60,000 women are imprisoned in the US. This number is growing by 15% yearly. There are now 41 women on death row. Of these, 15 were convicted of killing their husbands or lovers. Aileen Wuornos and Lorena Bobbit have gained notoriety, but the majority of these women serve their time unknown to the general public.

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## MOVE prisoners:

Consuewella Dotson Africa #6434  
Sue Leon Africa #006325  
Debbie Sims Africa #006307  
Janine Phillips Africa #006309  
Janet Holloway Africa #006308  
PO Box 180  
Muncy, PA 17756

## Mexican Political Prisoner:

Ana Lucia Gelabert #384484  
Rte. 4 Box 800  
Gatesville, TX 76528

## Native Political Prisoner:

Norma Jean Groy #14293  
PO Box 1501  
Chowchilla, CA 93610

## North American Anti-Imperialists:

Kathy Boudin #84-G-313  
Judy Clark #83-G-313  
PO Box 1000,  
Bedford Hills, NY 10507

Susan Rosenberg #03684-016  
Marilyn Buck #00482-285  
Sylvia Baraldini #05125-054  
Laura Whitehorn #22432-037  
PMB 7007  
Shawnee Unit  
Marianna, FL 32446

Carol Manning #10375-016  
3301 Leestown Rd.  
Lexington, KY 40511

Linda Evans #19973-054  
5701 8th St.  
Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

## Others:

Aileen Wuornos  
Support Committee  
208 W. 13th St.  
NY, NY 10001  
(212) 967-7711

## Plowshares:

Margaret Millett  
#32118-008 FPC  
37900 North 4th Ave. Dept. 1785  
Phoenix, AZ 85027-7066

ANARCHIST BL





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### Puerto Rican POWs:

Dylcia Pagan #88971-024  
Alejandrina Torres #92152-024  
Carmen Valentin #88974-0204

Ida Luiz Rodriguez #88973-024  
Haydee Beltran #88642-0204  
5701 8th St. Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

Alicia Rodriguez #N07157

Box 5007  
Dwight, IL 60420

Lucy Berrios Berrios #24582-024  
3301 Leestown Rd.  
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### EMMA HUMPHRIES

Emma Humphries has been detained since she was 17 years old. She was convicted of murder, mainly on the strength of a statement she made to the police while in a state of severe emotional and physical trauma.

Convicted in December 1985,

Emma has now served a total of eight years for killing Trevor Armitage, who she met when she was 16, after coming to Britain alone from Canada. Like many homeless young women, she was surviving by prostitution. Armitage, a client twice her age, offered her some semblance of affection and a place to live. After she moved in with him, he subjected her to six months of physical, sexual and emotional abuse.

Shortly before Armitage's death, Emma was raped by three men, after which Armitage continued to abuse her. On the night she killed Armitage, Emma had cut her wrists in response to his violence, and still had the knife next to her when he came into the room and approached her. Fearing that he was going to rape or beat her, she picked up the knife and stabbed him.

Emma later gave a statement to the police without anyone present to act on her behalf. She had received no support or counseling for any of the assaults she had

experienced during the previous six months.

Emma now says that, at the time of her arrest, she was unable to talk about Armitage's abuse in any detail either to the police or to the duty solicitor who was eventually appointed. Therefore, her statement does not explain the events that led to the stabbing.

When Emma came to trial, after 11 months in custody, she still had not received counseling. Emma was unable to talk about them in a public court, and did not give evidence on her own behalf. Neither the extent of the violence she had been subjected to, nor a detailed account of the events which led to the stabbing, were presented at the trial. Emma seems to have been convicted of murder without examination of either of the defenses that might have been open to her: "diminished responsibility" or "provocation."

Either of these defenses, if accepted by the jury, result in a conviction for manslaughter, the penalties for which are at the trial judge's discretion. For murder, the penalties are fixed at life for adults and indeterminate sen-

tences for minors.

The publicity around the cases of Kiranjit Ahluwalia, Sara Thornton and other women convicted of murder for killing violent men gave Emma hope. Justice for Women are campaigning around Emma's case, along with other organizations like Southall Black Sisters. After the release of Kiranjit Ahluwalia earlier this year, and the publicity around her case, these groups have raised the profile of issues surrounding women who kill violent partners.

Sara Thornton received a setback earlier this year when her appeal was refused, despite there being new and decisive evidence in her favor.

Write letters to Emma at :

H.M.P. Holloway  
Parkhurst Rd.  
London N7 0NU  
Britain

and Sara Thornton at:

H.M.P. Bullward Hall  
High Rd.  
Hockley, Essex SS5 4TE  
Britain

Director James Gomez  
California Dept. of Corrections  
PO Box 942883 [check number]  
Sacramento, CA 94283

Warden Teena Farmon  
COWE PO Box 1501

## HIV+ Women Denied Medical Care

**H**IV+ WOMEN PRISONERS will die of neglect and inadequate medical treatment at the Central California Women's Facility at Chowchilla. These women are being segregated and punished, denied medical

on an administrator's desk was circulated on the prison yard. Because of the ignorance and stigma surrounding HIV, many women refuse to identify as HIV+ and therefore receive no treatment. There are big signs in every

tem ranks fourth among state prison systems in AIDS-related deaths, according to a recent Bureau of Justice Statistics survey. Many deaths could be avoided if prisoners received decent medical care and early release for

# HIST BLACK CROSS



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Sacramento, CA 94283

Warden Teena Farmon  
CCWF PO Box 1501  
Chowchilla, CA 93610

For more information, call the Coalition to Support Women Prisoners at Chowchilla:

(415) 861-4058 or (415) 752-2765  
[excerpted from *Prison News Service*, Nov/Dec '93]

# HIV+ Women Denied Medical Care

**H**IV+ WOMEN PRISONERS will die of neglect and inadequate medical treatment at the Central California Women's Facility at Chowchilla. These women are being segregated and punished, denied medical care, and denied access to HIV/AIDS education materials.

Some facts:

—There are over 3,000 women incarcerated at CCWF; approximately 100 are known to have HIV. There is no HIV/AIDS medical doctor on staff.

—There are no routine or clinical follow ups.

—The prison has just hired a gynecologist; the waiting time for an appointment is several months.

—The infirmary is unlicensed. The prison doctor is a pediatrician with little knowledge of women's health-care needs. Guards with an elementary first aid course (MTAs) dispense medication and diagnose illnesses.

—There is no confidentiality. All "known" HIV+ women live on C Yard. A xeroxed list of women with HIV that had been left out

on an administrator's desk was circulated on the prison yard. Because of the ignorance and stigma surrounding HIV, many women refuse to identify as HIV+ and therefore receive no treatment. There are big signs in every yard, "Beware! There are HIV infected inmate persons housed in this facility."

—The only HIV/AIDS education is given by HIV+ prisoners who have set up an informal peer-education program. Women who request material from outside agencies have their mailings confiscated.

—Women with HIV caught breaking the rules are often placed indefinitely in administrative lockup—the Special Housing Unit. Women in the SHU often don't get their medications.

—Women who request HIV tests are told that they will only be tested if it's "medically indicated." This means that women won't know their HIV status until they are already sick. Even then, they will be given the least accurate test available.

The California state prison sys-

tem ranks fourth among state prison systems in AIDS-related deaths, according to a recent Bureau of Justice Statistics survey. Many deaths could be avoided if prisoners received decent medical care and early release for terminal illnesses. Most of the women at Chowchilla are doing short time for non-violent crimes, but the policies amount to a death sentence.

Send letters protesting denial of care to:

## ABC / Prisoner Support List

Nightcrawlers ABC  
PO Box 20181  
Tompkins Sq. Sta  
NYC, NY 10009 USA

Minneapolis ABC  
PO Box 7075  
Mpls, MN 5540 USA

Neither East Nor West  
528 5th St.  
Brooklyn, NY 11215 USA

Prison News Service  
PO Box 50502, Stn. A  
Toronto, Ont., M5W 1W4 Canada

ABC San Lorenzo  
PO Box 215  
San Lorenzo, CA 94580 USA

Winmin's Prisoner Survival Network  
PO Box 770, Stn. P.  
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1W4  
Canada

# ACK BLACK CROSS

## Late Breaking News

The trial of the Chattanooga 8 finished on February 23 with only two of the eight found guilty of "violating a public meeting." Lorenzo Komboa Ervin and Clifford Eberhardt face up to six months in prison. Also in Chattanooga, assault charges against John Johnson have been dropped. ★



# Margarita Ortega: Fighter in the Mexican Revolution

BY RICARDO FLORES MAGÓN

[Translated from *Regeneración*, No. 192, June 13, 1914]

**I**T SHOULD NOT BE STRANGE... THAT IT took so long to verify the death of the great anarchist who in life was known as Margarita Ortega.

This extraordinary woman was a member of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (Mexican Liberal Party) whose communist-anarchist ideals were propagated by means of word and action. In 1911, Margarita was the knot of the union between the fighting factions of the Partido Liberal Mexicano in Baja California. An excellent horsewoman and an expert in the use of firearms, Margarita crossed enemy lines and carried weapons, military equipment, dynamite, whatever was needed to the *compañeros* in the field of battle. More than one time her daring and cold blood saved her from falling into the hands of the forces of tyranny. Margarita Ortega had a big heart: on her horse, or from behind a boulder, she could keep the Government soldiers at bay, and a little later she could be seen caring for the wounded, feeding the convalescing or offering words of comfort to the widows and the orphans. Apostle, fighter, nurse, this exceptional woman was all of these at the same time. She couldn't watch tranquilly as someone suffered in her presence, and many claimed that she would take a piece of bread out of her mouth in order to give it to someone who was hungry.

A woman of exquisite sentiments, she dearly loved her family; but her family was made up of people who were not politically conscious, bourgeois and proletarians aspiring to be bourgeois. These people

could never understand how a woman endowed with such extraordinary talent, such boundless energy, and possessing such a substantial fortune, could work for a common cause with the poor. For this reason they hated her, they hated her as vulgar hearts hate noble and pure spirits that make obstacles to their greedy ambitions.

Margarita had sufficient wealth that she could have led a life of idle comfort; but she couldn't enjoy life while she well knew that thousands of human beings were fighting hard for their very subsistence. With the energy that can only be found in the converted, Margarita said to her unenlightened *compañero* in 1911: "I love you; but I also love all those who suffer, and for them I fight and risk my life. I don't want to see more men and women giving their effort, their health, their intelligence, their future to make the bourgeoisie rich. I don't want there to be men who order around other men any more. I am determined to continue to fight for the cause of the Partido Liberal Mexicano, and if you are a man, come with me to the country; otherwise, you can forget me, because I am not going to be the *compañera* of a coward." The people who witnessed this scene affirm that the coward did not wish to go with her. Then, directing herself to her daughter, she spoke in these terms: "And you, my daughter, are you resolved to come with me or to stay with the family?" To this, the other heroine responded: "Me, separate myself from you, Mami? That, never! Let us saddle the horses and throw ourselves into the struggle for the redemption of the working class!"

Once the Powers That Be learned of these events, Margarita and Rosaura were

expelled from Mexicali by order of Rodolfo Gallegos. To make matters worse for the two martyrs, Gallegos ordered that the two should be marched through the desert, along the immense dunes, beneath the blazing sun, with no water, with no food, and on foot. They were given the warning to never return to the town. Within days the poor victims of the capitalist system were strewn out on the sand. Their thirst devoured them; they fainted from hunger. Not a single traveller lent them a hand. There was no stream to calm their thirst. Rosaura was visibly having a worse time with the situation than Margarita. In the end, in spite of her enormous energy, Rosaura fainted and fell to the earth with closed eyes. Margarita thought that the daughter of her heart had died, and, crazy with pain, tried to kill herself; but as she pointed her gun at her head, she realized that her daughter was looking at her. Full of emotion, she ran to find water for the patient. Luckily, this time, she found some.

They came to Yuma, in the United States, and there Margarita was arrested by the immigration inspectors. A woman such as Margarita, honor of humanity, splendid example of the human race, could not reside in this country of vulgarity and stupidity. In order to reside in the United States, one must believe in Authority and Law.

Libertarian Margarita, due to the idiotic laws of the United States, could not be admitted, and she had to be deported to México. Thanks to the services of excellent comrades, Margarita managed to escape from the cells of the immigration inspectors, and, with Rosaura, fled to Phoenix, Arizona, where she took the name of María Valdez in order to avoid capture. Rosaura took the name of Josefina.

Rosaura remained ill as a result of her suffering in the desert, and her only desire



that had committed to the rebellion; but all of their efforts were wasted on this admirable woman. "Cowards!", she shouted, "Tear my skin to pieces, break my bones, drink all of my blood, and I will never denounce one of my friends."

The tyrants ordered her to stand up day and night, in the middle of the cage, without allowing her to sit or lean against the wall. Exhausted, sometimes she wavered, and she had to lean against the guard: a shove and a kick into the middle of the cage was the support she got. Other times she fell to the ground, fainting and worn out by so much suffering; they beat her until she got back up.

Four days and nights she endured this suffering, until the authorities in Mexicali





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Rosaura remained ill as a result of her suffering in the desert, and her only desire was to return to México, but with arms in hand to die fighting for Land and Liberty. She did not want to die on her bed, rather on the battle field, trading life for life. When the sickness worsened considerably, she said to Margarita: "Mamá: I do not want to die here; take me to the street where the Mexican workers meet. I want to die among them, my brothers and sisters, speaking to them of their rights as the producers of social wealth." Shortly after that, the sweet child died, never regretting the commodities and the bourgeois life that she had left behind for a life of agitation, full of dangers, miseries and real revolutionaries.

Margarita was left alone. Her daughter and compañera in struggle would no longer share in the penalties, the bitternesses, the miseries that are the prize of sincere struggle; but she did not, for this reason, stop working with the same dedication as a sower of ideals.

With Natividad Cortés as a compañero, she began the work of organizing the revolutionary movement in the northern state of Sonora, using as a base of operations the small town of Sonoyta, in the same state. This happened in October of last year [1913]. Both compañeros worked arduously, making agreements with other compañeros working in the Mexican territory. It was at this time that Rodolfo Gallegos, now charged with patrolling the border, happened upon them by chance. Natividad Cortés was shot and Margarita was taken prisoner to Baja California, where Gallegos ordered that she be left out for the gringos to find, leaving to them the task of killing her.

Margarita was arrested by the gringos on the 20th of November of last year [1913], near Mexicali, and she was placed in a cell with a guard to watch her. The felons who pass as authorities came up with the ingenious idea of martyring her. She had no fear in confessing that she was a member of the Partido Liberal Mexicano, and that, by the same token, she struggled against the three-headed Hydra of Authority, Capital, Clergy; but she did not reveal the name of a single compañera/o who had agreed with her to launch the cry of "Land and Liberty" from the North of the state of Sonora. She was tortured, just as in the black ages of the Inquisition. Her cowardly inquisitors wanted her to reveal the compañeras/os

Four days and nights she endured this suffering, until the authorities in Mexicali took her out of the cage on Nov. 24 to execute her. The backdrop of the execution was a desert night, so that no one might know of the event. Margarita smiled. The executioners trembled. The stars shone as if they were forced to descend and crown the head of the martyr.

A shot left this noble woman without life, free; her existence and example to remind the dispossessed to redouble our efforts against exploitation and tyranny.★

[Regeneración was the newspaper of the Partido Liberal Mexicano. For more information on the Mexican revolution of 1910, see page 20.]

[Translators' note: we have used the Spanish word "compañera/o" rather than translating it, because it has no real equivalent in English. "Compañera/o" refers to companions and comrades, partners in life and in struggle. It does not have the communist connotations of "comrade" or of the euphemistic content of "companion."]

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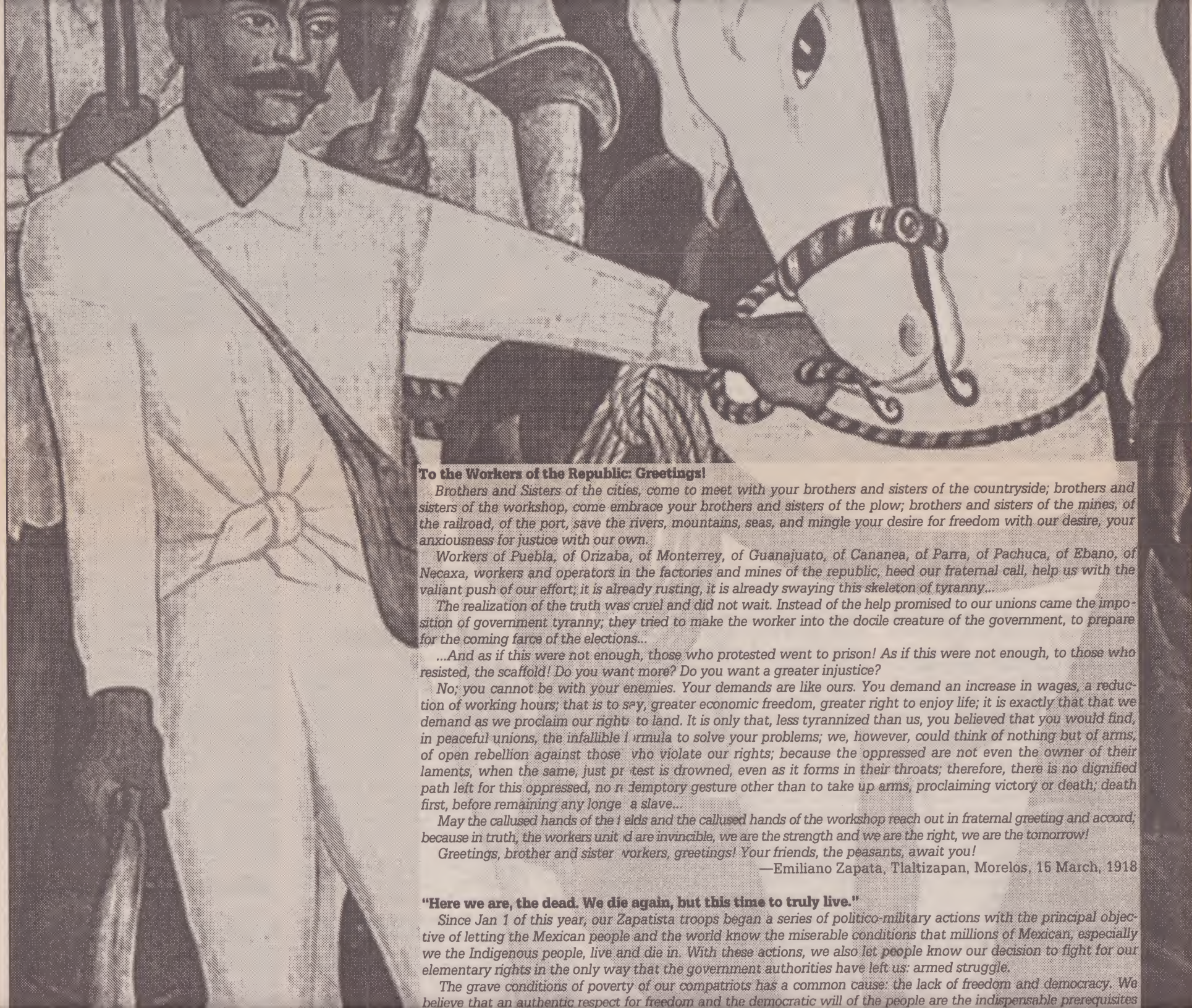
# **iViva Zapata!**

A black and white illustration depicting a crowd of men, likely revolutionaries, in the background. They are wearing various hats and some are holding rifles. In the foreground, a white horse with a dark bridle is shown, facing left. A man's arm is visible, holding the horse's bridle. The overall style is that of a political poster or a historical illustration.

**To the Workers of the Republic: Greetings!**

*Brothers and Sisters of the cities, come to meet with your brothers and sisters of the countryside; brothers and*





### **To the Workers of the Republic: Greetings!**

Brothers and Sisters of the cities, come to meet with your brothers and sisters of the countryside; brothers and sisters of the workshop, come embrace your brothers and sisters of the plow; brothers and sisters of the mines, of the railroad, of the port, save the rivers, mountains, seas, and mingle your desire for freedom with our desire, your anxiousness for justice with our own.

Workers of Puebla, of Orizaba, of Monterrey, of Guanajuato, of Cananea, of Parra, of Pachuca, of Ebano, of Necaxa, workers and operators in the factories and mines of the republic, heed our fraternal call, help us with the valiant push of our effort; it is already rusting, it is already swaying this skeleton of tyranny...

The realization of the truth was cruel and did not wait. Instead of the help promised to our unions came the imposition of government tyranny; they tried to make the worker into the docile creature of the government, to prepare for the coming farce of the elections...

...And as if this were not enough, those who protested went to prison! As if this were not enough, to those who resisted, the scaffold! Do you want more? Do you want a greater injustice?

No; you cannot be with your enemies. Your demands are like ours. You demand an increase in wages, a reduction of working hours; that is to say, greater economic freedom, greater right to enjoy life; it is exactly that that we demand as we proclaim our right to land. It is only that, less tyrannized than us, you believed that you would find, in peaceful unions, the infallible formula to solve your problems; we, however, could think of nothing but of arms, of open rebellion against those who violate our rights; because the oppressed are not even the owner of their laments, when the same, just protest is drowned, even as it forms in their throats; therefore, there is no dignified path left for this oppressed, no demagogic gesture other than to take up arms, proclaiming victory or death; death first, before remaining any longer a slave...

May the calloused hands of the fields and the calloused hands of the workshop reach out in fraternal greeting and accord; because in truth, the workers united are invincible, we are the strength and we are the right, we are the tomorrow!

Greetings, brother and sister workers, greetings! Your friends, the peasants, await you!


—Emiliano Zapata, Tlaltizapan, Morelos, 15 March, 1918

### **"Here we are, the dead. We die again, but this time to truly live."**

Since Jan 1 of this year, our Zapatista troops began a series of politico-military actions with the principal objective of letting the Mexican people and the world know the miserable conditions that millions of Mexican, especially we the Indigenous people, live and die in. With these actions, we also let people know our decision to fight for our elementary rights in the only way that the government authorities have left us: armed struggle.

The grave conditions of poverty of our compatriots has a common cause: the lack of freedom and democracy. We believe that an authentic respect for freedom and the democratic will of the people are the indispensable prerequisites





...brothers and sisters of the city, come to meet with your brothers and sisters of the countryside, brothers and sisters of the workshop, come embrace your brothers and sisters of the plow; brothers and sisters of the mines, of the railroad, of the port, save the rivers, mountains, seas, and mingle your desire for freedom with our desire, your anxiousness for justice with our own.

Workers of Puebla, of Orizaba, of Monterrey, of Guanajuato, of Cananea, of Parra, of Pachuca, of Ebano, of Necaxa, workers and operators in the factories and mines of the republic, heed our fraternal call, help us with the valiant push of our effort; it is already rusting, it is already swaying this skeleton of tyranny...

The realization of the truth was cruel and did not wait. Instead of the help promised to our unions came the imposition of government tyranny; they tried to make the worker into the docile creature of the government, to prepare for the coming farce of the elections...

...And as if this were not enough, those who protested went to prison! As if this were not enough, to those who resisted, the scaffold! Do you want more? Do you want a greater injustice?

No; you cannot be with your enemies. Your demands are like ours. You demand an increase in wages, a reduction of working hours; that is to say, greater economic freedom, greater right to enjoy life; it is exactly that that we demand as we proclaim our right to land. It is only that, less tyrannized than us, you believed that you would find, in peaceful unions, the infallible formula to solve your problems; we, however, could think of nothing but of arms, of open rebellion against those who violate our rights; because the oppressed are not even the owner of their laments, when the same, just protest is drowned, even as it forms in their throats; therefore, there is no dignified path left for this oppressed, no demagogic gesture other than to take up arms, proclaiming victory or death; death first, before remaining any longer a slave...

May the calloused hands of the fields and the calloused hands of the workshop reach out in fraternal greeting and accord; because in truth, the workers united are invincible, we are the strength and we are the right, we are the tomorrow!

Greetings, brother and sister workers, greetings! Your friends, the peasants, await you!

—Emiliano Zapata, Tlaltizapan, Morelos, 15 March, 1918

**"Here we are, the dead. We die again, but this time to truly live."**

Since Jan 1 of this year, our Zapatista troops began a series of politico-military actions with the principal objective of letting the Mexican people and the world know the miserable conditions that millions of Mexican, especially we the Indigenous people, live and die in. With these actions, we also let people know our decision to fight for our elementary rights in the only way that the government authorities have left us: armed struggle.

The grave conditions of poverty of our compatriots has a common cause: the lack of freedom and democracy. We believe that an authentic respect for freedom and the democratic will of the people are the indispensable prerequisites for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the dispossessed of our country. For this reason, just as we demand the improvement of the living conditions of the Mexican people, we demand freedom and political democracy...

**—General Command of the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), from the mountains of Southeastern México. January, 6, 1994**

The 75 year-old call for solidarity and assistance issued by Zapata to the urban and industrial workers of México could have been written last month. The EZLN's declaration was. The EZLN has declared a war for land, food, and freedom to control their own lives in southern México and anti-authoritarians in North America finally have an armed liberation organization that they can (and should) support with few qualms. In the first three weeks of armed struggle the Zapatista National Liberation Army (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) accomplished more, militarily and politically, than any of the guerrillas of Central America have in the past 12 years. They claim a tradition of radical Indigenous self-determination, Zapatismo, and in doing so set themselves politically and strategically apart from almost every other clandestine armed group in Latin America. They are not vanguard Marxist guerrillas in search of a social base to lead into the revolution. They are not even trying to conquer the rest of the country (although they clearly wouldn't mind if some other Mexicans caught on to their ideas). They are trying to reclaim their land, their culture, their

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## An Anarchist Assessment of the EZLN



## Revolution in México



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families, their villages and towns, their lives.

### THE BEGINNING

The real beginnings of the current rebellion can be found in 1492 and 1910, of course. Spain's conquest of what is now Latin America gave rise to the conditions under which most Native peoples in this hemisphere still struggle, and die. Emiliano Zapata offered a radical solution to those conditions: that Indigenous campesinos take back their land by any means necessary. Zapata's army of Indigenous peasants played a pivotal role in the Mexican Revolution. Although recent events have been reported several times over by various capitalist and progressive news agencies, a short summary is useful.

petuity for the Indigenous population, that the land be held communally in ejidos (land trusts) which could not be bought or sold (provided for by articles 4 and 27, which were respectively deleted and gutted when the constitution was revised two years ago). They also demanded the right to rebel. Article 39 reads as follows:

*"National sovereignty essentially and originally resides in the people. All political power emanates from the people and its purpose is to help the people. The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government."*

It was this right that the EZLN claimed as they began their struggle. If that were not

between the different Indigenous groups.

The EZLN is a liberation army that seeks not to establish a political regime of one kind or another, but rather to free the people to make those decisions themselves. Their stated goal is to establish liberated zones in which the people can be freed from the one-party dictatorship of the PRI (the Party of the Institutional Revolution, México's ruling party for over 50 years) and can decide their own direction. This struggle for political freedom is central to the strategy

which women are routinely forced into marriage, where men are entitled to wear shoes in public but women go barefoot. The Revolutionary Agrarian Law also does not pose serious challenges to anti-authoritarian politics. On the other hand, The Law of the Rights and Obligations of a People in Struggle, as well as the Law of War Taxes





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The facts, in brief, are the following: several thousand combatants liberated several towns and cities (among them, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Las Margaritas and Altamirano) in the name of the EZLN. They were armed, but sometimes with little more than ancient rifles or machetes. They wore bandannas over their faces and flew a black flag with a red star on it. After securing the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas, with a population of 100,000, the EZLN fighters attacked the jail, freeing 129 prisoners. The soldiers opened prisons in several other towns as well, and redistributed stockpiled food among the people. In Ocosingo, much of the EZLN hid away for three days prior to the attack—around two thousand soldiers hid among the people in a small town and were “not noticed.” *Proceso*, a México City news weekly, offered the following explanation: “... in a ‘war region’ like this, for every one of the revolutionaries there exists a base of support among the communities, and for this reason it is difficult to find those involved.” In several other towns and cities, not only were Mexican police officers disarmed by the EZLN, but disrobed as well, and left in their own jails.

What is most distinctive about the EZLN

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It was this right that the EZLN claimed as they began their struggle. If that were not enough legitimacy for one armed revolutionary movement, they went still further: “We also ask that international organizations and the International Red Cross watch over and regulate our battles, so that our efforts are carried out while still protecting our civilian population. We declare now and always that we are subject to the Geneva Accord, forming the EZLN as the fighting arm of our liberation struggle.” The EZLN has tried to put itself in a curious place: a legitimate (in fact, legal), Indigenous people's liberation army.

Almost from the start the Mexican government has tried to claim that the situation in Chiapas was caused by some sort of outside agitator. The first tack was to claim that the EZLN were trained, led, supported or supplied by Guatemalan guerrillas. This theory is doubtful for at least three reasons: the politics of the EZLN are incompatible with those of the Guatemalan guerrillas, the military tactics are quite different (the Zapatistas have been much more successful), and there is absolutely no evidence of significant amounts of Guatemalans in the EZLN or coordination with other groups in Guatemala. Reports that they have encircled towns to try to force new “conscripts” to the EZLN are obviously of government creation.

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## THE LEGACY OF EMILIANO

When they call themselves “Zapatistas” they make a strong claim and locate themselves in a particular place in Mexican political history. Zapata championed and fought for Indigenous ownership of land (which at that time, as now, meant removing the mestizo capitalist owners), and autonomous local political control. Anarchists have long drawn the connection between Zapatismo and anarchism (see page 20) and it should not be difficult for others to draw the connections, especially knowing the history. Subcomandante Marcos, specifically stated in an interview with the Italian Communist Party newspaper, *Unità*, that they are “not communist or Marxist-Leninist.” Their strategy does not involve an attempt to seize state power. They are calling for democracy and even democratic elections, but the ambiguities of this are difficult to

which women are routinely forced into marriage, where men are entitled to wear shoes in public but women go barefoot. The Revolutionary Agrarian Law also does not pose serious challenges to anti-authoritarian politics. On the other hand, The Law of the Rights and Obligations of a People in Struggle, as well as the Law of War Taxes, are both extremely problematic for an anti-authoritarian reading of the EZLN's politics. Both of these laws sanction (in fact require explicitly) the election of “civil authorities” who have both increased rights and increased obligations over those of other citizens. They are empowered to levy taxes and to imprison or punish violators of the community's standards. While the Rights and Obligations specifically excludes the revolutionary military from participation in civil rule, it does give them emergency powers that could easily be abused. The overriding electoral strategy, which appears in several of the laws and is mentioned in a number of the communiques, is worrisome, but only to the degree that it shifts power away from people at the base of the society (campesinos, in this case). It is unclear to what degree the EZLN is interested in national, or even regional, elections and posts, but this is obviously important.

## INDIGENOUS OR NATIONALIST

There is a contradiction of some sort between the Indigenous and the nationalist character of the EZLN. They emphasize repeatedly that they are an Indigenous movement acting from a base of Indigenous anger



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What is most distinctive about the EZLN is their political sophistication, both in their development of an extensive base in the population of Chiapas and in the timing and justification of their recent armed actions. The insurgents have justified their entire revolt under the Mexican constitution and have demanded to be officially recognized under international law as a belligerent force in order to bring the conflict under international war conventions. As further criteria for dialogue with the government negotiator, the EZLN demanded an end to aerial bombings of Indigenous communities; respect for the human rights of the local population; the withdrawal of government troops to their barracks; and the declaration of a cease-fire.

Article 39 of the Mexican constitution, which legally justifies the entire rebellion, was ratified under pressure from Zapatista and other liberatory forces in 1917, at the end of the Mexican Revolution. The Zapatistas, distrusting the pro-government forces in the center of the country, demanded that land be guaranteed in per-

sonal use. In brief, the facts are the following: several thousand combatants liberated several towns and cities (among them, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Las Margaritas and Altamirano) in the name of the EZLN. They were armed, but sometimes with little more than ancient rifles or machetes. They wore bandannas over their faces and flew a black flag with a red star on it. After securing the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas, with a population of 100,000, the EZLN fighters attacked the jail, freeing 129 prisoners. The soldiers opened prisons in several other towns as well, and redistributed stockpiled food among the people. In Ocosingo, much of the EZLN hid away for three days prior to the attack—around two thousand soldiers hid among the people in a small town and were "not noticed." *Proceso*, a México City news weekly, offered the following explanation: "... in a 'war region' like this, for every one of the revolutionaries there exists a base of support among the communities, and for this reason it is difficult to find those involved." In several other towns and cities, not only were Mexican police officers disarmed by the EZLN, but disrobed as well, and left in their own jails.

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Another "outside agitator" was found in the person of Bishop Samuel Ruiz. Ruiz, a longtime supporter of peasant economic rights, was charged with leading the rebellion with some brand of liberation theology and the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari went as far as to ask the Pope to remove him. He has since been cleared of all such charges and is actively participating in the negotiation process. In sum: there are no outside agitators.

## WHO ARE THE EZLN AND WHAT ARE THEIR POLITICS?

The EZLN is an Indigenous, peasant army. During one interview, Subcomandante Marcos [Press Secretary and most public face of the EZLN—see essays and interviews page 15] stated that it was organized by Indigenous ethnicities, each with its own Sub-Commander, with the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee setting the strategic and political direction based upon broad "accords" existing

for political freedom is central to the strategy of the EZLN, more central even than land. The point was made in the opening quotes from the declaration on Jan 6: For them the lack of food, of health care, of water, of land itself, are all caused by the lack of political autonomy and freedom. It is this freedom that comes first.

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There are several ideological and strategic problems in the communiqués, especially in some of the "Revolutionary Laws." [see page 16] These laws, presumably, embody the vision that the Zapatistas have of a society undergoing revolutionary transformation and provide the richest ground for information about their politics. The revolutionary law on women may seem outdated and anachronistic to North American readers, but it is a powerful statement of opposition to patriarchy in a set of societies in

struggle, as well as the Law of War Taxes, are both extremely problematic for an anti-authoritarian reading of the EZLN's politics. Both of these laws sanction (in fact require explicitly) the election of "civil authorities" who have both increased rights and increased obligations over those of other citizens. They are empowered to levy taxes and to imprison or punish violators of the community's standards. While the Rights and Obligations specifically excludes the revolutionary military from participation in civil rule, it does give them emergency powers that could easily be abused. The overriding electoral strategy, which appears in several of the laws and is mentioned in a number of the communiqués, is worrisome, but only to the degree that it shifts power away from people at the base of the society (campesinos, in this case). It is unclear to what degree the EZLN is interested in national, or even regional, elections and posts, but this is obviously important.

## INDIGENOUS OR NATIONALIST

There is a contradiction of some sort between the Indigenous and the nationalist character of the EZLN. They emphasize repeatedly that they are an Indigenous movement acting from a base of Indigenous anger and Indigenous demands. They also call themselves a "national liberation army" and evoke Zapata's name. If both of those two concepts have meaning for the Zapatistas, there are questions about what the main bases for the EZLN are: ethnic, class, or national. Clearly it is some combination of these but where the priorities fall is an important question. Some of the most nationalist EZLN rhetoric is clearly geared at getting and keeping widespread Mexican public support (that they always respect the Mexican national flag, for example), and can be taken as evidence of their political shrewdness and realism. (Given the rally of over 130,000 people in the Zócalo in México City in mid-January, they have had quite a bit of success.) This is precisely what is most problematic about their apparent nationalism: its repetition of prejudices within broader Mexican society (the widespread xenophobia, for example). They cannot maintain that they are Indigenous, including Indigenous ethnicities

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¡Viva Zapata!

# EZLN Declaration of War From Lacandona Jungle

—Lacandona Jungle, Dec. 31, 1993

TODAY WE SAY ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!  
TO THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO:  
MEXICAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

We are a product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of Independence against Spain led by insurgents, then to avoid being absorbed by North American imperialism, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the

French empire from our soil, and later the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz denied us the just application of the Reform laws and the people rebelled and leaders like Villa and Zapata emerged, poor men just like us. We have been denied the most elemental preparation so they can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our country. They don't care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads: no land, no work, no health care, no food nor education. Nor are we able to freely and democratically elect our political representatives, nor is there independence from foreigners, nor is

there peace nor justice for ourselves and our children.

But today, we say ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. We are the inheritors of the true builders of our nation. The dispossessed, we are millions and we thereby call upon our brothers and sisters to join this struggle as the only path, so that we will not die of hunger due to the insatiable ambition of a 70-year dictatorship led by a clique of traitors who represent the most conservative and sell-out groups. They are the same ones that opposed Hidalgo [leader of a failed revolt against Spanish rule in 1810] and Morelos, the same ones that betrayed Vicente Guerrero [anti-Spanish guerrilla leader and one-time president], the same ones that sold half our country to the foreign

invader, the same ones that imported a European prince to rule our country, the same ones that formed the "scientific" Porfirista dictatorship, the same ones that opposed the Petroleum Expropriation, the same ones that massacred the railroad workers in 1958 and the students in 1968, the same ones that today take everything from us, absolutely everything.

To prevent the continuation of the above, and as our last hope, after having tried to utilize all legal means based on our Constitution, we go to our Constitution, to apply Article 39 which says:

*"National Sovereignty essentially and originally resides in the people. All political power emanates from the people and its purpose is to help the people. The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government."*

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## NAFTA/TLC

Much has been said about the question of timing of the rebellion with respect to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA—TLC in its Spanish initialogram). NAFTA formally went into effect at midnight, Jan 1, 1994 and it was this point that the Chiapanecos chose for the onset of their revolution. That NAFTA had something to do with it is clear, but what, exactly, remains uncertain. Some, such as Marc Cooper of the Village Voice, have attributed to the EZLN

ly a columnist reported in *El Financiero* that November, 1993 saw a meeting of 52 armed groups in México under the auspices of the "Guerrilla General Coordinate." At that time, according to the columnist, 51 of the groups agreed to hold off on widespread actions until just before the August elections. Only the EZLN differed. Some believe that 51 other armed groups may be seeing the wisdom of the EZLN's ways, and may begin their activities much sooner than expected, all of which could make for a very interesting summer. Finally, in the second week of February, peasants in towns across several states in Southern México stormed

bers of the PRI!

The choice of Manuel Camacho Solís as negotiator represents a significant shake-up in the succession strategy of the PRI. Camacho Solís was iced out of the presidential maneuvering late last fall (see *L&R*, vol 4, no. 5). However, Colosio, Salinas's chosen successor, was not selected as the primary negotiator in this rebellion, in large part because he has no support. There were widespread doubts about him in the past, but Chiapas has, for all purposes, opened up the

there, although its form remains to be seen.

## WHAT THE FUTURE MAY BRING

Several factors indicate that the EZLN will affect Mexican politics for some time to come. Since they have such a strong base in the population of Chiapas, time is to their



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## ARMED AND UNARMED UPRISINGS ELSEWHERE

As Subcomandante Marcos said, the winds of change are blowing from the South of México [see essay page 15]. Shortly after the second week of January there were scattered (and almost unreported) incidents of armed uprisings in isolated areas of the state of Guerrero. More recent-

columnist reported in *El Financiero* that November, 1993 saw a meeting of 52 armed groups in México under the auspices of the "Guerrilla General Coordinate." At that time, according to the columnist, 51 of the groups agreed to hold off on widespread actions until just before the August elections. Only the EZLN differed. Some believe that 51 other armed groups may be seeing the wisdom of the EZLN's ways, and may begin their activities much sooner than expected, all of which could make for a very interesting summer. Finally, in the second week of February, peasants in towns across several states in Southern México stormed their City Halls demanding the expulsion of their PRI Mayors. Several of the campesino groups that originally expressed concerns and lack of support for the EZLN have come full circle and have even admitted that they are inspired by their activities. The possibility that large numbers of campesinos across the South of the Mexican state will rise up in the near future is very real.

## US MILITARY INVOLVEMENT

We have learned that, according to a Sergeant in US Army intelligence, on March 18 a small group of military intelligence operatives of the US army will arrive in Guatemala to scout out the border with Chiapas and locate a spot appropriate for a battalion-sized encampment. The camp should be established some time this summer. This is solid information that the US considers the situation in Chiapas serious and of potentially long duration.

## THE REST OF MÉXICO

The national elections in México are less than six months away and how Chiapas is or is not resolved will have everything to do with who wins. The PRI are widely, and accurately, believed to have engaged in vote fraud for decades, and after the last elections in 1988, several towns rose up against the fraudulent vote counts. Chiapas voted overwhelmingly (over 90%) for the PRI in the last election, according to the official counts. Many are joking that they cannot understand what the Mexican Government is afraid of: with such a high level of support in the region, the EZLN must, in fact, be mem-

bers of the PRI!

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## SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATIONS

In the US, actions in solidarity with the Zapatistas began only days into January, with most of the demonstrations carried out by ad-hoc coalitions or groupings. Several small organizations geared towards longer-term solidarity have already sprung up, including in Santa Cruz where a collection of anarchists have begun holding weekly meetings of the Committee to Support the Mexican Revolution; and in New York City, where the Zapatista Solidarity Committee was recently formed. It is difficult to say whether longer-term solidarity groupings will come out of the coalitions formed to conduct demonstrations in early January. One of the largest coalitions was formed in San Francisco with the participation of 31 separate groups, and there is clearly a basis for long-term activity around this issue

there, although its form remains to be seen.

## WHAT THE FUTURE MAY BRING

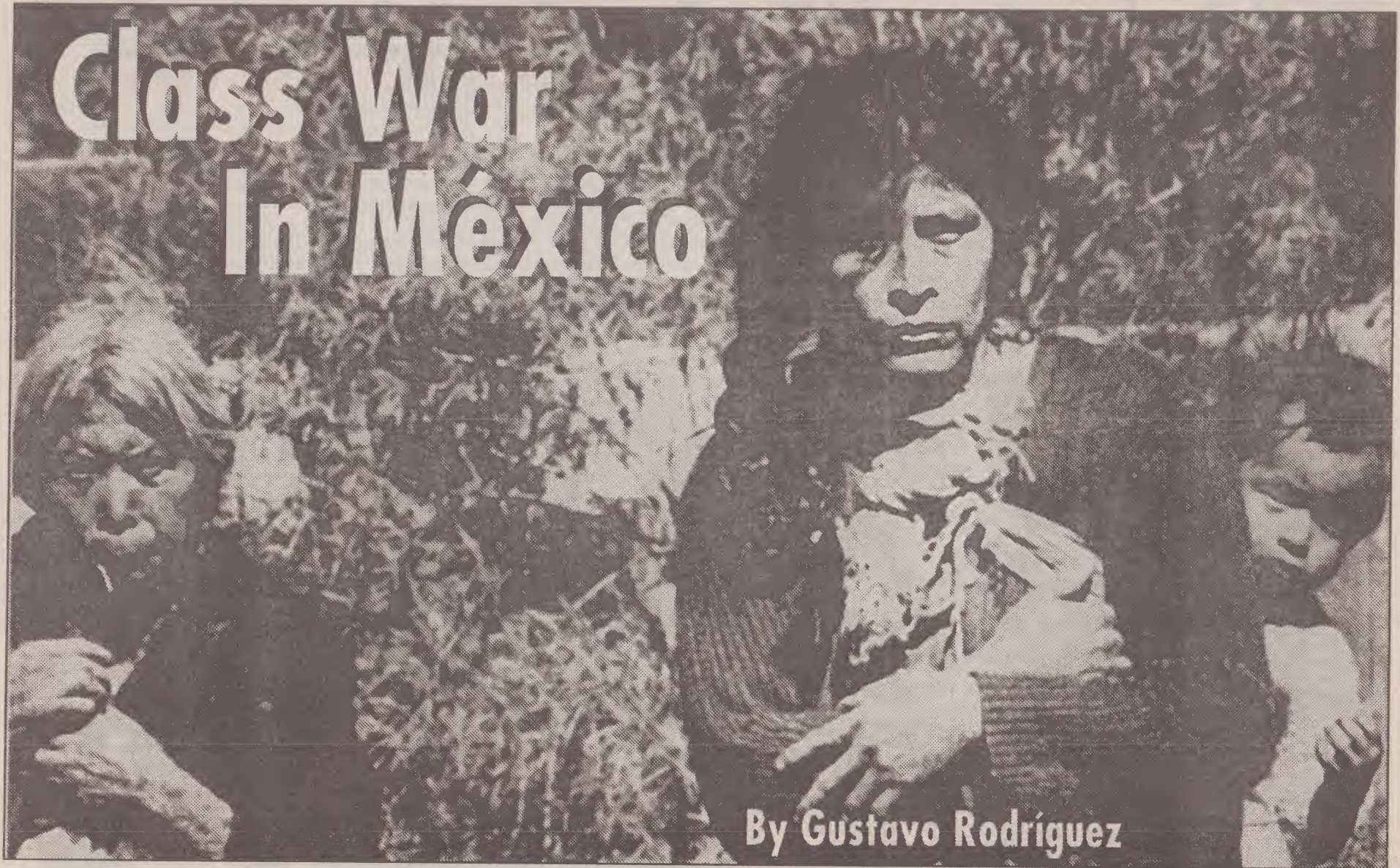
Several factors indicate that the EZLN will affect Mexican politics for some time to come. Since they have such a strong base in the population of Chiapas, time is to their advantage. Increased repression by the Mexican army will only reinforce resentment on the part of the Chiapanecos and push them towards the Zapatistas. There is already evidence of that sort of sympathy spreading in the actions of campesinos taking over their town halls. In addition, there is the possibility of other armed actions breaking out. There have been two armed incidents in the state of Guerrero since Jan 1 (both largely unreported). It remains to be seen whether and to what extent any of the other armed groups will surface before August, but it seems certain that at least a few will try to disrupt the elections.

Anti-authoritarians should support the Zapatistas (and should draw inspiration from their bold actions) but we should not do so uncritically. There are tensions and problems within the politics of the EZLN as we currently understand them, and others are certain to surface.

As we continue to struggle to find issues of broad-ranging concern with the power to ignite people to political action, we need to use the opportunity presented to us by the revolutionaries in México. The likelihood of the rebellion in Chiapas having begun a long term class war in México, combined with NAFTA, explain the US intervention. Our failure to recognize the importance of the fight in southern México would mean losing out on an opportunity to finally demonstrate that revolutions do not need to assume control of the state apparatus to be successful; that revolutions can be based on an idea as simple, and as profound, as poor peasants taking control of the land, and their lives.★  
[Communique packets avail. Send \$1 and 3 stamps to L&R]



# Class War In México



By Gustavo Rodríguez

*"Our Indians are dying of hunger, and we therefore have started this armed revolution. We have tired of the government not listening to our demands for better health, education, justice and the right to work"*

—Tzetzal Indian, resident of Chiapas, and Information Commissioner for the EZLN (translated from Tzetzal)

**N**O MATTER HOW YOU LOOK AT IT,

tortures, the registrations, the seizures and the evictions. We talked about the situation in Chiapas, especially about the presence of the army in Ocosingo and Altamirano, and of the bombardment of the communities of Pataté el Viejo and San Miguel.

If we give a detailed analysis of the situation in the state of Chiapas, we will see that it is second only to Oaxaca and Guerrero in poverty. According to the conservative fig-

by the EZLN. San Cristóbal de las Casas, the richest city, was the first to be abandoned by the Zapatistas. How could the armed uprising take so many by surprise?

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laws of the government of Alvaro Obregón. The caudillos who fought against the redistribution of land to peasants and Indians were then put in charge of the Agrarian Reform, by decision of the central government. It was not until 1935, with the government of Lázaro Cárdenas in the full swing of populism, that the doling out of land for *ejidos* (land held by collectives) and for communities in Chiapas started: "In a celebrated con-





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**N**O MATTER HOW YOU LOOK AT IT, and from any point of view, México will never be the same. The México of the "Institutionalized" Revolution [the party in power in México is the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI)], the México of presidential succession by decree, the México of the party-government, has died. The Indigenous-peasant uprising in Chiapas has given us faith in the death of this México, and that in its place has begun to rise up a new México.

They may smash this insurrection militarily, they may send provisions to calm the hunger, the priests may control things momentarily, but the causes of the rebellion are there to see, and they extend throughout the whole of the Mexican territory, especially in Indigenous communities. The possibility, therefore, of other insurrections will continue to exist.

With the new year in México we began to hear about uprisings and armed insurrection, of social revolution, of rebellions. There is "official" talk about another army: The Zapatista Army of National Liberation. The country was shaken up on the second day of the year with headlines such as: "Violent takeover of five city halls by armed group in Chiapas," "Municipal palaces destroyed and sacked in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano, Chanal and Las Margaritas," "EZLN declares war." That was exactly what happened in the first minutes of 1994 as NAFTA came into effect, signed and ratified by the ruling classes of the US, Canada and México.

## WHAT ARE THE CAUSES?

tortures, the registrations, the seizures and the evictions. We talked about the situation in Chiapas, especially about the presence of the army in Ocosingo and Altamirano, and of the bombardment of the communities of Pataté el Viejo and San Miguel.

If we give a detailed analysis of the situation in the state of Chiapas, we will see that it is second only to Oaxaca and Guerrero in poverty. According to the conservative figures of the CONAPO (the National Council on Population), in Chiapas 94 of 111 municipalities find themselves within the definition of "very high" and "high" marginality; only 153 municipalities of the 2,403 in the whole country fit into this category. In the whole of the state of Chiapas, there is not a single municipality that qualifies for the category of "very low" marginality, which describes a quality of living similar to the working class in states such as Jalisco, Puebla, Nuevo León and México City (D.F.).

In Chiapas, 34% of the population is without electric power, versus 13% at the national level; the level of illiteracy is three times higher than the national rate for the population over 15 years old (30% versus 12%), and double the national level of adults who did not finish primary school (62% versus 29%); of the 22% of people living in homes without plumbing in all of the country, 42% live in Chiapas. The municipalities of Ocosingo, Las Margaritas, and Altamirano (occupied by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN)) hold 225,000 people, of whom 80% of the families spend less than the equivalent of US\$260 per month, 48% of those older than 15 years are illiterate and 75% of the communities that make up these municipalities lack electric energy.

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## ZAPATISMO AND THE INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT

It is still premature to talk about a serious analysis of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. It cannot be known at this early stage who, exactly, are the members of the EZLN. The Maoists (in capitalist press coverage) shouted that Chiapas began the "Popular War," and that this uprising obeyed the advanced Maoist International in the last minute of the centenary of the birth of Mao; for their part, the Stalinists, Trotskyists and Castroists baptized the Zapatistas as the "vanguard" of the Mexican revolution and predicted the start of a "socialist" state in México. Information from the government tells us that we are witnessing an invasion of "foreign terrorists" and provocateur priests and liberation theologians. The documents that have been made public that are credited to the Zapatistas have a confusing language that is difficult to understand and goes from nationalist positions, constitutional positions, electoral, autonomist and even liberatory positions. The only thing that can be clearly taken from the communiqués is what they have openly said from the first minute of this year: the disgust with having to wait more than 500 years for justice, equality, well-being and freedom. We cannot talk about the Indigenous rebellions and insurrections in México without referring to the history of Chiapas. Even to mention only two of the most important Indigenous uprisings in the state, we immediately come to the insurrection of the Tzeltal people in 1712 and that of the Tzotzil people in 1868 (which lasted until 1872), both in search of respect for their culture and their dignity.

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Even in times of "liberty and democracy," military uprisings have been reported in this southern state: In 1974 there were insurrections in the municipalities of San Andrés Larráinzar and Venustiano Carranza (this last brutally repressed by the Mexican Army); in 1975 the evictions by the army in the municipality of Simojovel; in 1976, the invasions of Frailesca, near Carranza, and the violence in May; in 1977 the military repression against Choles and the workers of PEMEX (Mexican Petroleum) in the north of the state, and the July revolt in Simojovel with a total of 16 ejidos (common land) torched by the army, 10 dead including two peasants thrown from helicopters and ambushed; in 1978 the army assaulted Monte Líbano, in the middle of the jungle, and carried out "actions of punishment against rebelling Indians"; in 1979 evictions and total state repression increased; in 1980 repression increased still more, and in July another massacre occurred in Wolochán, where the army attacked a town by surprise with rockets and machine guns, and 12 Tzeltales (Indigenous inhabitants of the region) were assassinated and incinerated.

	Ocosingo	Altamirano	Las Margaritas	San Cristóbal
Population	121,000	17,000	86,000	89,000



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## WHAT ARE THE CAUSES?

Class war has started in México; that is not doubted even by the PRI. Its causes are well-known secrets. In *Amor y Rabia* (vol 0, no 7, Oct/Nov 1993), we wrote about the rural reality in the Mexican state, where "agrarian conflicts, the utter exploitation of the natural resources and systematic repression...date from colonial times... Thirty percent of the Indigenous population of the Americas lives in México, of this percentage, 45% suffer from hunger and malnutrition, among other violations of their human rights."

And as though misery, hunger, and hopelessness were not enough, we also documented the presence of troops in the area: their armed incursions, the detentions, the

uprisings of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. It cannot be known at this early stage who, exactly, are the members of the EZLN. The Maoists (in capitalist press coverage) shouted that Chiapas began the "Popular War," and that this uprising obeyed the advanced Maoist International in the last minute of the centenary of the birth of Mao; for their part, the Stalinists, Trotskyists and Castroists baptized the Zapatistas as the "vanguard" of the Mexican revolution and predicted the start of a "socialist" state in México. Information from the government tells us that we are witnessing an invasion of "foreign terrorists" and provocateur priests and liberation theologians. The documents that have been made public that are credited to the Zapatistas have a confusing language that is difficult to understand and goes from nationalist positions, constitutionalist positions, electoral, autonomist and even liberatory positions. The only thing that can be clearly taken from the communiqués is what they have openly said from the first minute of this year: the disgust with having to wait more than 500 years for justice, equality, well-being and freedom. We cannot talk about the Indigenous rebellions and insurrections in México without referring to the history of Chiapas. Even to mention only two of the most important Indigenous uprisings in the state, we immediately come to the insurrection of the Tzeltal people in 1712 and that of the Tzotzil people in 1868 (which lasted until 1872), both in search of respect for their culture and their dignity.

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	Ocosingo	Altamirano	Las Margaritas	SanCristóbal
Population	121,000	17,000	86,000	89,000
"Marginalization" Level	Complete	n/a	VeryHigh	"best standard of living in region"
No Plumbing/Latrines	60%	43%	38%	21%
No Electricity	67%	75%	66%	16%
No Running Water	49%	48%	72%	27%
Dirt Floors	74%	79%	77%	33%
Overcrowded Housing	80%	n/a	83%	60%
15 yrs and older Illiterate	46%	51%	48%	25%
Didn't Finish Primary School	78%	83%	83%	44%

little has changed for the 111 municipalities in Chiapas. Five have "low" marginality, 12 have "medium" marginality, 56 have "high" and 38 have "very high" marginality; none presented "very low" marginality.

Ocosingo, the poorest of the towns in Chiapas, was the most densely populated

in Chiapas today with the Lic. Gabino Vázquez, chief of the Agriculture Department, instructions were received to intensify the work of giving out land throughout the country. The government should abolish the plantations, and instead construct common lands; this is both in order to be true to the agrarian laws and to avoid the violence that occurs between the plantation owners and the peasants asking for land." (Lázaro Cárdenas, Opras Apuntes 1913/1940).

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Chiapas did not play a very important part within the ranks of the Ejército Libertador (Liberation Army) during the Mexican Revolution, 1910-17 (precisely during the height of Zapatismo in the south and center of México). To the contrary, the local rebels rose up in arms against the revolutionary



¡Viva Zapata!

# Interview With Subcomandante Marcos

[This interview was first published January 4, 1994 in *Unità*, the daily newspaper of the Italian Communist Party. This English version was translated from the Spanish-language text of the interview published in the January 10, 1994 issue of the Mexican weekly magazine *Proceso*.]

**San Cristóbal, México** — He is among the few whose face is covered and is armed with a machine gun. He is

not Indigenous. While he speaks, he pulls a pipe from a pouch, puts it in his mouth through the opening of the ski mask, but does not light it. He expresses himself with the clarity of the intellectual accustomed to communicating with the poor. He is surely Mexican, but it is not possible to identify the accent. A young woman with Asiatic eyes in a black ski mask stands next to him throughout the interview.

**Comandante Marcos, you occupied San Cristóbal on January 1st, who are you?**

We are part of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, and we demand the resignation of the federal government and the formation of a transitional government to convene free and democratic elections in August, 1994. We demand that the major demands of the peasants of Chiapas be met: food, health, education, autonomy and peace. The Indigenous people have always lived in a state of war because war has been waged against them and today the war will be in their favor. Whatever the case, we will have the opportunity to die in battle fighting instead of dying of dysentery, as the Indigenous people of Chiapas usually die.

**Do you have relationships with some political organization of peasants?**

We have no such relationship with any aboveground organization. Our organization is exclusively armed and clandestine.

**Were you formed out of nothing? Improvised?**

We have been preparing ourselves in the mountains for ten years; we are not an improvised movement. We have matured, thought, learned and made this decision.

**Do you have racial and ethnic demands?**

The Committee of directors is

made up of Indigenous Tzotziles, Tzeltales, Choles, Tojolabales, Mames and Zoques, all of the major ethnic groups of Chiapas. They all agree, and apart from democracy and representation, they demand respect, respect which white people have never had for them. Above all in San Cristóbal the residents insult and discriminate against them as a daily occurrence, now white people respect the Indians because they see them with guns in their hands.

**How do you think the government will respond?**

We do not worry about the response of the government. We worry about the response of the Mexican people. We want to know what this event will provoke, what will move the national consciousness. We hope something moves, not only in the form of armed struggle, but in all forms of struggle. We hope this will put an end to this disguised dictatorship.

**Don't you have confidence in the PRD as an opposition party in the next elections?**

We don't distrust the political parties as much as we do the electoral system. The government of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is an illegitimate party, product of fraud, and this illegitimate government can only produce illegitimate elections. We want a transitional government and that this government hold new elections—but with a capacity that is genuinely egalitarian, offering the same opportunities to all political parties. In Chiapas, 15,000 Indians per year die of curable diseases. It is a statistic of the same magnitude that the war produced in El Salvador. If a peasant with cholera comes to a rural hospital, they throw him out so no one will say there is cholera in Chiapas. In this movement, the Indians who form part of the Zapatista Army want to first dialogue with their own people. They are the real representatives.

**Excuse me, but you are not an Indian.**

You must understand our movement is not Chiapaneco, it is national. There are people

like me, others who come from other states, and Chiapanecos who fight in other states. We are Mexicans—that unifies us, as well as the demand for liberty and democracy. We want to elect genuine representatives.

**But now, aren't you afraid of heavy repression?**

For the Indians, repression has existed for the past 500 years. Maybe you think of repression in terms of that typical of South American governments. But for the Indians, this kind of repression is their daily bread. Ask those who live in the surrounding communities of San Cristóbal.

**What development would you consider a victory?**

We'd like for others in the country to join this movement.

**An armed movement?**

No. We make a broad appeal that we direct towards those who are active in civil, legal, and open popular movements.

**Why did you choose January 1st to attack San Cristóbal?**

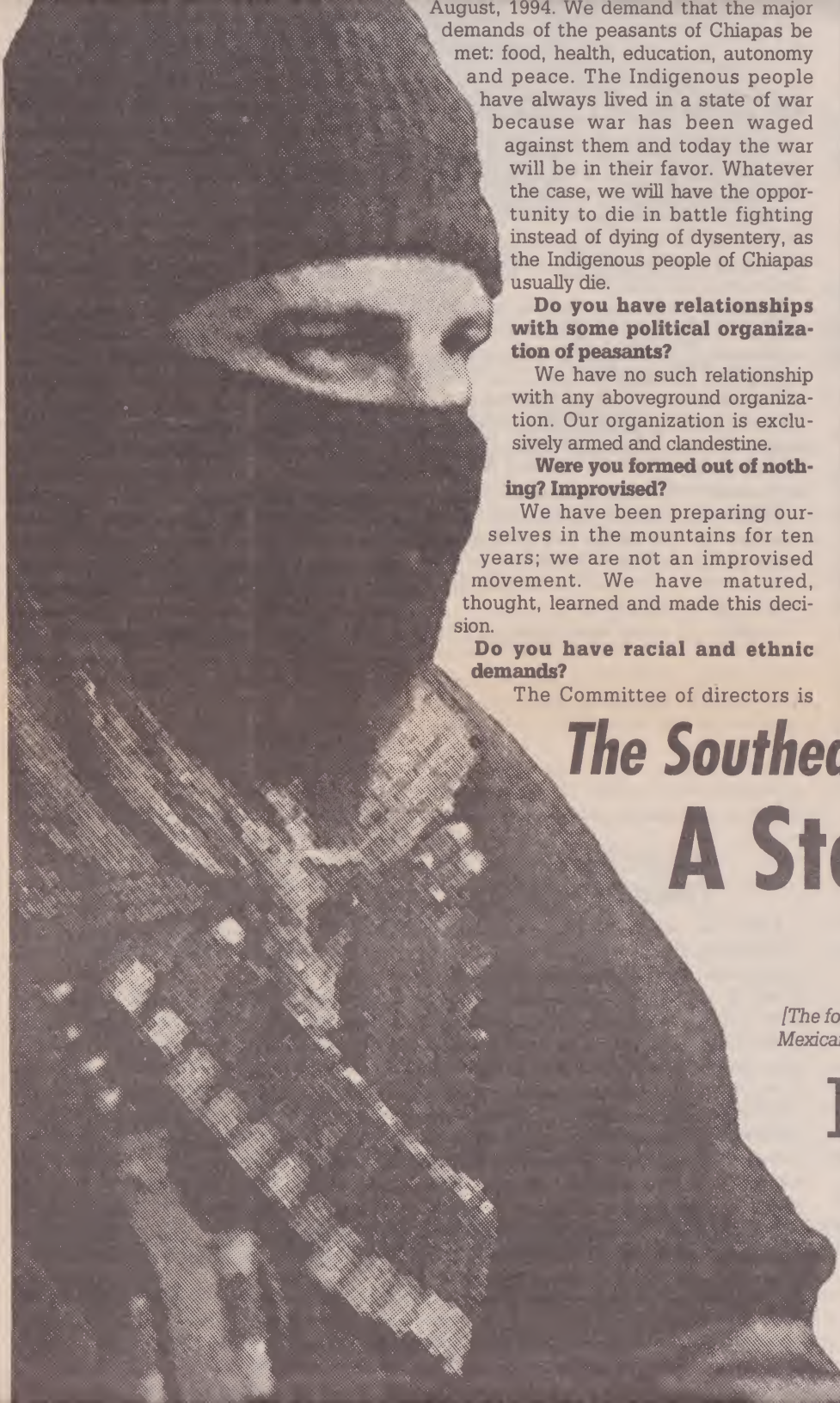
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**What do you believe the international response will be? Aren't you afraid the United States will intervene, like it has in other parts of Latin America?**

The US used to have the Soviet Union as a pretext, they were afraid of Soviet infiltration in our countries. But what can they make of a movement that claims social justice? They can't continue to think we are being manipulated from the outside, or that we are financed by the gold of Moscow, since Moscow no longer exists. Enough with asking Yeltsin. The people in the U.S. should be aware that we struggle for those things that others struggle for. Didn't the people of Germany and Italy rebel against a dictatorship? Does the rebellion of the

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## *The Southeast in Two Winds*

# A Storm and A Prophecy

BY SUBCOMMANDANTE MARCOS

[The following essay was written by Subcomandante Marcos in 1992 and recently sent to the Mexican Press attached to a communique by the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee]

LET THEM TELL ABOUT HOW THE supreme government was touched by the misery of the Indigenous people of Chiapas and endowed the area with hotels, prisons, barracks, and a military airport. And let them also tell about the beast that feeds off of the blood of the people and other wretched and unfortunate successes.

Let us suppose that you live in the North, Center, or West of the country. Let us suppose that you give mind to the old Secotur (Ministry of Tourism) phrase "Get to know México first." Let's suppose that you decide to visit the southeast of your country and that of the southeast you choose the state of Chiapas. Let's suppose that you drive (getting there by air is not only expensive but unlikely, a mere fantasy: there are only two "civil" airports and one military one). Let's suppose that you take the Transistémica highway. Let's suppose that you pay no mind to the army barracks located at Matias Romero and that you continue on to Ventosa. Let's suppose that you don't notice the Ministry of Government's immigration checkpoint near there (and that makes you think that you are





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*(Continued to page 20)*



From El Despertador Mexicano, Newspaper of the EZLN

# Revolutionary Laws of the Liberated Territories



**Fourth:** Urban lots that already have public services will be opened for immediate occupation in order that dwellings may be constructed on said lots—even if the dwellings are only of a provisional nature. The freely and democratically-elected authorities will be notified of these occupations.

**Fifth:** Vacant public buildings and large mansions will be provisionally occupied by families, who will divide the buildings amongst themselves. In order to facilitate this, the civil authorities will appoint neighborhood committees that will decide on requests that are presented to them and will grant living space on the basis of need and available resources.

## LABOR LAW: ADDITIONS TO THE PRESENT LAW

The following laws will be added to the current Federal Labor Law in the zones controlled by the EZLN.

**First:** Foreign companies will pay their workers an hourly salary in national money equivalent to what would be paid in dollars outside the country.

**Second:** National companies will increase their workers' salaries monthly, by a percentage determined by a local Prices and Salaries Commission. Said Commission will be composed of representatives of the workers, settlers, land-owners, business people and the freely and democratically elected authorities. The reduction of current salaries will in no way be permitted.

**Third:** All workers in the countryside and the cities will receive free medical care in any public or private health center, hospital or clinic. The medical costs will be covered by the employers.

**Fourth:** Every worker will have a right to a certain amount of non-transferable stock in the company for which they work, the exact quantity to be determined by the

tortillas and bread for all in time of war.

**Fourth:** The industries and businesses that the landowners consider unproductive, and attempt to close in order to carry away the machinery and prime materials, will be passed to the management of the workers, and the machinery will become the property of the nation.

## SOCIAL SECURITY LAW

**First:** Abandoned children will be fed and protected by the nearest neighbors under the authority of the EZLN, before being turned over to the civil authorities, who will protect them until they reach 13 years of age.

**Second:** Elderly people without family will be protected and will receive priority in housing and the distribution of free food coupons.

**Third:** Those incapacitated by the war will receive attention and work priority under the direction of the EZLN.

**Fourth:** The pension of retirees will be equal to the minimum salary established by local Price and Salary Commissions.

## JUSTICE LAW

**First:** All prisoners in all prisons will be liberated, except those guilty of murder, rape and the leaders of drug-trafficking operations.

**Second:** All government officials, from the level of the municipal president up to the President of the Republic, will be subject to audit, and will be judged for misappropriation of funds in cases where evidence of guilt is found.

## REVOLUTIONARY AGRARIAN LAW

The poor peasants' movement in México demands the return of the land to those who work it, and in the tradition of Emiliano Zapata and in opposition to the reforms to Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution the



# Revolutionary Laws of the Liberated Territories



## WOMEN'S REVOLUTIONARY LAW

In the just fight for the liberation of our people, the EZLN incorporates women into the revolutionary struggle, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, requiring only that they share the demands of the exploited people and that

Zapatista National Liberation Army, the following laws will be enacted in order to ensure dignified housing for all dispossessed families:

**First:** The inhabitants of the zone who own their own homes or apartments will stop paying all taxes.

**Fourth:** Urban lots that already have public services will be opened for immediate occupation in order that dwellings may be constructed on said lots—even if the dwellings are only of a provisional nature. The freely and democratically-elected authorities will be notified of these occupations.

**Fifth:** Vacant public buildings and large mansions will be provisionally occupied by families, who will divide the buildings amongst themselves. In order to facilitate this, the civil authorities will appoint neighborhood committees that will decide on requests that are presented to them and will grant living space on the basis of need and available resources.

## LABOR LAW: ADDITIONS TO THE PRESENT LAW

The following laws will be added to the current Federal Labor Law in the zones controlled by the EZLN.

**First:** Foreign companies will pay their workers an hourly salary in national money equivalent to what would be payed in dollars outside the country.

**Second:** National companies will increase their workers' salaries monthly, by a percentage determined by a local Prices and Salaries Commission. Said Commission will be composed of representatives of the workers, settlers, land-owners, business people and the freely and democratically elected authorities. The reduction of current salaries will in no way be permitted.

**Third:** All workers in the countryside and the cities will receive free medical care in any public or private health center, hospital or clinic. The medical costs will be covered by the employers.

**Fourth:** Every worker will have a right to a certain amount of non-transferable stock in the company for which they work, the exact quantity to be determined by the number of years that the worker has worked for the company—this is in addition to their current pensions. The monetary value of said stock will be used for the workers' retirement, by his wife or by his beneficiary.

## INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE LAW

**First:** The prices of basic products will be regulated by a local Prices and Salaries Commission. Said commission will be com-

tortillas and bread for all in time of war.

**Fourth:** The industries and businesses that the landowners consider unproductive, and attempt to close in order to carry away the machinery and prime materials, will be passed to the management of the workers, and the machinery will become the property of the nation.

## SOCIAL SECURITY LAW

**First:** Abandoned children will be fed and protected by the nearest neighbors under the authority of the EZLN, before being turned over to the civil authorities, who will protect them until they reach 13 years of age.

**Second:** Elderly people without family will be protected and will receive priority in housing and the distribution of free food coupons.

**Third:** Those incapacitated by the war will receive attention and work priority under the direction of the EZLN.

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## REVOLUTIONARY AGRARIAN LAW

The poor peasants' movement in México demands the return of the land to those who work it, and in the tradition of Emiliano Zapata and in opposition to the reforms to Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, the EZLN again takes up the just struggle of rural México for land and freedom. With the object of standardizing the new agrarian distribution enacted by the revolution throughout Mexican territory, the following Revolutionary Agrarian Law is issued:

**First:** This law is valid in all Mexican territory, and benefits all poor peasants and Mexican agricultural laborers regardless of their political affiliation, religious creed, sex, race, or color.



## WOMEN'S REVOLUTIONARY LAW

In the just fight for the liberation of our people, the EZLN incorporates women into the revolutionary struggle, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, requiring only that they share the demands of the exploited people and that they commit to the laws and regulations of the revolution. In addition, taking into account the situation of the woman worker in México, the revolution supports their just demands for equality and justice in the following Women's Revolutionary Law.

**First:** Women, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in a way determined by their desire and capacity.

**Second:** Women have the right to work and receive a just salary.

**Third:** Women have the right to decide the number of children they will have and care for.

**Fourth:** Women have the right to participate in the affairs of the community and hold positions of authority if they are freely and democratically elected.

**Fifth:** Women and their children have the right to primary attention in matters of health and nutrition.

**Sixth:** Women have the right to education.

**Seventh:** Women have the right to choose their partner, and are not to be forced into marriage.

**Eighth:** Women shall not be beaten or physically mistreated by their family members or by strangers. Rape and attempted rape will be severely punished.

**Ninth:** Women will be able to occupy positions of leadership in the organization and hold military ranks in the revolutionary armed forces.

**Tenth:** Women will have all the rights and obligations elaborated in the revolutionary laws and regulations.

## URBAN REFORM LAW

In the urban zones controlled by the

Zapatista National Liberation Army, the following laws will be enacted in order to ensure dignified housing for all dispossessed families:

**First:** The inhabitants of the zone who own their own homes or apartments will stop paying all taxes.

**Second:** The inhabitants of the zone who pay rent, and have resided in the same dwelling for more than 15 years, will stop paying rent to the owner of the property until the revolutionary government triumphs and new legislation is enacted.

**Third:** The inhabitants of the zone who pay rent, and have resided in the same dwelling for fewer than 15 years, will pay only 10% of the salary earned by the head of the family as rent, and will not pay at all after having resided in the dwelling for 15 years.

## Declaration

*(Continued from page 13)*

Therefore, according to our Constitution, we declare the following to the Mexican federal army, the pillar of the Mexican dictatorship that we suffer from, monopolized by a one-party system and led by Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the supreme and illegitimate federal executive who today holds power.

According to this Declaration of War, we ask that other powers of the nation advocate to restore the legitimacy and the stability of the nation by overthrowing the dictator.

We also ask that international organizations and the International Red Cross watch over and regulate our battles, so that our efforts are carried out while still protecting our civilian population. We declare now and always that we are subject to the Geneva Accord, forming the EZLN as our fighting arm of our liberation struggle. We have the Mexican people on our side, we have the beloved tri-colored flag highly respected by our insurgent fighters. We use black and red in our uniform as our symbol of our working people on strike. Our flag carries the following letters, "EZLN," Zapatista

number of years that the worker has worked for the company—this is in addition to their current pensions. The monetary value of said stock will be used for the workers' retirement, by his wife or by his beneficiary.

## INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE LAW

**First:** The prices of basic products will be regulated by a local Prices and Salaries Commission. Said commission will be composed of workers, settlers, land owners, merchants and the freely and democratically-elected authorities. Increases in the prices of basic products can not in any way be more than increases in salaries.

**Second:** The hoarding of any product is prohibited. Hoarders will be detained and turned over to the military authorities, accused of sabotage and treason to the country.

**Third:** The commerce of a given region should be able to ensure the provision of

Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, the EZLN again takes up the just struggle of rural México for land and freedom. With the object of standardizing the new agrarian distribution enacted by the revolution throughout Mexican territory, the following Revolutionary Agrarian Law is issued:

**First:** This law is valid in all Mexican territory, and benefits all poor peasants and Mexican agricultural laborers regardless of their political affiliation, religious creed, sex, race, or color.

**Second:** This law affects all agricultural properties and agro/livestock businesses inside of Mexican territory, whether they are national or foreign-owned.

**Third:** All poor-quality land in excess of 100 hectares and all good-quality land in excess of 50 hectares will be subject to the revolutionary agricultural law. The landowners whose lands exceed the aforementioned limits will have the excess

*(Continued to next page)*

National Liberation Army, and we always carry our flag into combat.

Beforehand, we reject any effort to disgrace our just cause by accusing us of being drug traffickers, drug guerrillas, thieves or other names that might be used by our enemies. Our struggle follows the Constitution, which is held high by its call for justice and equality.

Therefore, according to this declaration of war, we give our military forces, the EZLN, the following orders:

**First:** Advance to the capital of the country, overcoming the Mexican federal army, protecting in our advance the civilian population and permitting the people in the liberated area the right to freely and democratically elect their own administrative authorities.

**Second:** Respect the lives of our prisoners and turn over all wounded to the International Red Cross.

**Third:** Initiate summary judgements against all soldiers of the Mexican federal army and the political police that have received training or have been paid by foreigners, accused of being traitors to our country, and against all those that have repressed and treated badly the civil population and robbed or stolen from or attempted crimes against the good of the people.

**Fourth:** Form new troops with all those

Mexicans that show their interest in joining our struggle, including those that, being enemy soldiers, turn themselves in without having fought against us, and promise to take orders from the General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

**Fifth:** We ask for the unconditional surrender of the enemy's headquarters before we begin any combat to avoid any loss of lives.

**Sixth:** Suspend the robbery of our natural resources in the areas controlled by the EZLN.

To the People of México:

We, the men and women, full and free, are conscious that the war that we have declared is our last resort, but also a just one. The dictators are waging an undeclared genocidal war against our people for many years. Therefore we ask for your participation, your decision to support this plan that struggles for work, land, housing, food, health-care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. We declare that we will not stop fighting until the basic demands of our people have been met by forming a government of our country that is free and democratic.

**JOIN THE INSURGENT FORCES OF THE  
ZAPATISTA NATIONAL  
LIBERATION ARMY!**

—General Command of the EZLN, Dec. 31, 1993



# Revolutionary Laws

(Continued from previous page)

taken away from them and they will be left with the minimum permitted by this law. They may remain as small landholders or join the cooperative peasants' movement, peasant societies, or communal lands.

**Fourth:** Communally-held land and the land of popular cooperatives will not be subject to agrarian reform, even though they exceed the limits mentioned in the third article of this law.

**Fifth:** The lands affected by this agrarian law will be distributed to the landless peasants and the agricultural laborers who thus request it as collective property for the formation of cooperatives, peasant societies or agricultural production/livestock collectives. The affected lands should be worked collectively.

**Sixth:** The collectives of poor, landless peasants and agricultural laborers, men, women, and children without land title, or who have land of poor quality, will have the right to be the first to request land.

**Seventh:** In order to better cultivate the land for the benefit of the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers, the expropriation of large estates and agricultural/livestock monopolies will include the expropriation of means of production such as machinery, fertilizer, stores, financial resources, chemical products and technical expertise. All of these means should pass into the hands of the poor peasants and agricultural laborers, with special attention given to groups organized in cooperatives, collectives and societies.

**Eighth:** The groups that benefit from this agrarian law should dedicate themselves to the collective production of necessary foodstuffs for the Mexican people: corn, beans, rice, vegetables and fruit, as well as to the raising of cattle, bees, pigs and horses and to the production of animal-derived products (meat, milk, eggs, etc.).

**Ninth:** In time of war, a portion of the products of the lands affected by this law will be designated for the sustenance of

sary for their development. Housing and road construction centers will be established with engineers, architects, and the necessary materials for the peasant's dignified housing and the construction of good roads for transportation. Service centers will be created in order to guarantee potable water, drainage, electricity, radio and television, in addition to everything necessary for housework: stoves, refrigerators, lavatories, mills, etc.

**Sixteenth:** The peasants that work collectively will not be taxed. Nor will the ejidos, cooperatives or communal lands be taxed. From the moment that this revolutionary agrarian law is implemented, all debts—whether they are from credit, taxes, or loans—that are owed by the poor peasants or agricultural workers to the oppressive government, to foreigners or to capitalists, are forgiven.

## LAW OF RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF PEOPLES IN STRUGGLE

In its liberatory advance through Mexican territory, and in the struggle against the government and the national and foreign exploiters, the EZLN will make count, with the help of the people engaged in struggle, the following Law of Rights and Obligations of Peoples in Struggle:

**First:** The peoples in struggle against the oppressor government and the great national and foreign exploiters, without regard to their political affiliation, religious creed, race or color, will have the following rights:

**A:** To choose, freely and democratically, the authorities of whatever type they consider convenient, and to demand that they be respected.

**B:** To demand that the revolutionary armed forces not intervene in matters of civil order or the disposition of capital relat-

ed to agriculture, commerce, finances, and industry, as these are the exclusive domain of the civil authorities, elected freely and democratically.

**C:** To organize and exercise armed defense of their collective goods and particulars, as well as to organize and exercise the vigilance of public order and good government according to the popular will.

**D:** The demand that the revolutionary armed forces guarantee the safety of people, families and private and collective property of neighbors or transients, when these people are not enemies of the Revolution.

**E:** The inhabitants of every population have the right to acquire and possess armies to defend their persons, families and property, according to the laws of disposition of capital of farms, commerce, finance and industry, against the armed attacks committed by the revolutionary forces or those of the government. By the same token, they are fully authorized to make use of those arms against whatever person or group of people assaults their homes, the honor of their families, or attempt to commit robberies or attacks of whatever form against their persons. This is valid only for those who are not enemies of the Revolution.

**Second:** The civil authorities of whatever type, who are elected democratically, will have, in addition to the previous rights and the attributions that are signaled by the respective revolutionary laws, the following rights:

**A:** They will be able to imprison, disarm and turn in to the Commands anyone they find robbing, raiding or looting any home or committing any other violation, for which they will receive their deserved punishment, even if they are a member of the armed revolutionary force. The same procedures will be employed against those who commit any violation, even if they are not caught in the act, if their guilt is sufficiently demonstrated.

**B:** They will have the right that, for their conduct, revolutionary taxes be imposed as established by the Law of War Taxes.

**Third:** Peoples in struggle against the oppressor government and the great national and foreign exploiter, without regard to their political affiliation, religious creed, race or color, will have the following obligations:

**A:** To give their services in works of vigilance, accorded majority will or by military necessities of revolutionary war.

**B:** To respond to the calls for help, made by the democratically elected authorities, the revolutionary armed forces or by any revolutionary military person in cases of urgency, to combat the enemy.

**C:** To lend their services as mail deliverers or guides to the revolutionary armed forces.

**D:** To lend their services to carry food to the revolutionary troops when they are combatting the enemy.

**E:** To lend their services to transport wounded, bury cadavers or other similar works tied to the cause and interest of the Revolution.

**F:** To give food and lodging to the revolutionary forces that are guarding or passing through the respective populations, to the degree that they are able.

**G:** To pay taxes and contributions established by the Law of War Taxes and other revolutionary laws.

**H:** They should not help in any way the enemy, nor give them articles of primary necessity.

**I:** To dedicate themselves to legitimate work.

**Fourth:** The civil authorities, of whatever type elected democratically, will, in addition to the previous obligations, have the following obligations:

**A:** To give regularly to the civil population a report of the activities in their purview and the origin and destination of all of the material resources and human posts in their administration.

**B:** To inform regularly the respective Command of the armed revolutionary forces that occurs in their place.★

# Editorial: The Mexican Awakening



thus request it as collective property for the formation of cooperatives, peasant societies or agricultural production/livestock collectives. The affected lands should be worked collectively.

**Sixth:** The collectives of poor, landless peasants and agricultural laborers, men, women, and children without land title, or who have land of poor quality, will have the right to be the first to request land.

**Seventh:** In order to better cultivate the land for the benefit of the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers, the expropriation of large estates and agricultural/livestock monopolies will include the expropriation of means of production such as machinery, fertilizer, stores, financial resources, chemical products and technical expertise. All of these means should pass into the hands of the poor peasants and agricultural laborers, with special attention given to groups organized in cooperatives, collectives and societies.

**Eighth:** The groups that benefit from this agrarian law should dedicate themselves to the collective production of necessary foodstuffs for the Mexican people: corn, beans, rice, vegetables and fruit, as well as to the raising of cattle, bees, pigs and horses and to the production of animal-derived products (meat, milk, eggs, etc.).

**Ninth:** In time of war, a portion of the products of the lands affected by this law will be designated for the sustenance of orphans and widows of revolutionary combatants and to the support of the revolutionary forces.

**Tenth:** The purpose of collective production is primarily to satisfy the people's needs, to instill in those who benefit from this law a consciousness of collective work and benefit, and to create production, defense and mutual-aid units in the Mexican countryside. When a region doesn't produce some product, it will trade justly and equally with another region where it is produced. Excess production can be exported to other countries if there is no national demand for the product.

**Eleventh:** Large agricultural businesses will be expropriated and passed to the hands of the Mexican people, and will be administered collectively by the workers of those businesses. The cultivation machinery, seeds etc. that are sitting idle in factories and businesses will be distributed amongst rural collectives, with the objective of making the land fertile and ending the hunger of the people.

**Twelfth:** Individual hoarding of land and the means of production will not be

permitted. The agrarian law is implemented, all debts—whether they are from credit, taxes, or loans—that are owed by the poor peasants or agricultural workers to the oppressive government, to foreigners or to capitalists, are forgiven.

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**B:** To demand that the revolutionary armed forces not intervene in matters of civil order or the disposition of capital relat-

ions, against the armed attacks committed by the revolutionary forces or those of the government. By the same token, they are fully authorized to make use of those arms against whatever person or group of people assaults their homes, the honor of their families, or attempt to commit robberies or attacks of whatever form against their persons. This is valid only for those who are not enemies of the Revolution.

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# Editorial: The Mexican Awakening

MEXICANS, WORKERS, PEASANTS, students, honest professionals, chicanos, and progressives of other countries: We have begun the struggle which is necessary to meet the demands that never have been satisfied by the Mexican State: work, land, shelter, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace.

For hundreds of years we have been asking for and believing in promises that were never kept. We were always told to be patient and to wait for better times. They told us to be prudent, that the future would be different. But we see now that that this isn't true, everything is the same or worse now than when our grandparents and parents lived. Our people are still dying from hunger and curable diseases, and live with ignorance, illiteracy and lack of culture. And we realize that if we don't fight, our children can expect the same. And it is not fair.

Necessity brought us together and we said "Enough!" We no longer have the time or will to wait for others to solve our problems. We have organized ourselves and we

the leaders and officers of the EZLN in our advance through national territory. Also in this issue are the revolutionary laws that will be enacted in the liberated territories in

order to guarantee their revolutionary control and strengthen the bases so we can begin the process of building a new México. To live for our country or die for freedom!★





will be designated for the sustenance of orphans and widows of revolutionary combatants and to the support of the revolutionary forces.

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**Eleventh:** Large agricultural businesses will be expropriated and passed to the hands of the Mexican people, and will be administered collectively by the workers of those businesses. The cultivation machinery, seeds etc. that are sitting idle in factories and businesses will be distributed amongst rural collectives, with the objective of making the land fertile and ending the hunger of the people.

**Twelfth:** Individual hoarding of land and the means of production will not be permitted.

**Thirteenth:** Zones of virgin jungle and forest will be preserved. There will be reforestation campaigns in the principal zones.

**Fourteenth:** The riverheads, rivers, lakes and oceans are the collective property of the Mexican people, and they will be cared for by not polluting them and by punishing their misuse.

**Fifteenth:** In order to benefit the poor, landless peasants and agricultural workers, in addition to the agrarian distribution established by this law, commercial centers will be created to buy the peasants' products at a fair price and to sell them goods at a fair price that the peasant needs for a dignified life. Also, community health centers will be created with every benefit of modern medicine, with capable and conscientious doctors and nurses, and with free medical care for the people. Recreation centers will be created for the peasants and their families so that they may rest in dignity without the need of bars or bordellos. Educational centers and free schools will be created where the peasants and their families can receive an education, regardless of their age, sex, race or political affiliation, and where they can learn the techniques neces-

**M**EXICANS, WORKERS, PEASANTS, students, honest professionals, chicanos, and progressives of other countries: We have begun the struggle which is necessary to meet the demands that never have been satisfied by the Mexican State: work, land, shelter, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace.

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Necessity brought us together and we said "Enough!" We no longer have the time or will to wait for others to solve our problems. We have organized ourselves and we have decided to demand what is ours in the same way that the finest sons of the Mexican people have done throughout our history.

We have entered combat against the Federal Army and other repressive forces: there are millions of us Mexicans willing to live for our country or die for freedom in this war. This war is necessary for all the poor, exploited and miserable people of México and we will not stop until we achieve our goals.

We call on everyone to join our movement. Our enemies, the rich and the State, are cruel and merciless and there is no limit to their bloody instinct to destroy us.

What's needed is to struggle on all fronts. Your sympathy, your solidarity, the dissemination that you give our cause all of you who have taken up our cause, that have joined the revolution and are helping to advance our peoples—these are vital to our ultimate victory.

*El Despertador Mexicano* is the newspaper of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. It strives to inform the people about the development of the just war that we have declared against our class enemies.

In this first issue we present our Declaration of War against the Federal Army and we publish the orders to be followed by

the leaders and officers of the EZLN in our advance through national territory. Also in this issue are the revolutionary laws that will be enacted in the liberated territories in

order to guarantee their revolutionary control and strengthen the bases so we can begin the process of building a new México. To live for our country or die for freedom!★





# Indigenous Movements and Magonismo

*[The article that follows is excerpted from a paper presented at the seminar "Ricardo Flores Magón," organized by Casa de Cultura Oaxaqueña and CIDSTAO (Centro de Investigaciones y Documentación Sobre Temas y Asuntos Oaxaqueños) on June 25-27, 1986. It was subsequently published in February 1987 by Ediciones Antorcha as part of its Pamphlet Series. We have decided to reprint part of this pamphlet because it tackles a subject rarely addressed: the relationship between the Mexican anarchist movement and Indigenous communities. This theme is now very real and timely, in view of the rebirth of Zapatismo and the subsequent debate about revolutionary tactics and strategies.]*

By JUAN CARLOS BEAS AND MANUEL BALLESTEROS

**T**HE INDIGENOUS NATIONS THAT have existed in Mexican territory since ancient times have been direct actors in the great social convulsions that have shaken the country.

From the moment in which the first Iberian conquistador brought the cross, blood and gunpowder to these lands, the majority of the Indian people have fought a necessary, tenacious and violent resistance whose aim was and is the preservation and recovery of land, forest, customs and their own lives.

This struggle has been on-going, and has not only confronted the Spanish, French and North American invaders, but also the conservative and liberal governments of independent México and the group that inherited power as a result of the defeat of the so-called "Mexican Revolution."

Porfirio Díaz [dictator of México from 1876-1910], the bloodthirsty Oaxacan "pacifist," like the serene Santa Ana [dictator from 1824-1855], handed over our resources and lands to the foreign invader, and during his rule developed a process of

century, an important part of the Magonista's actions were directed at the Indigenous sector.

So, the connection between Indigenous resistance and Magonismo is part of a socialist tradition, and appears to have been determined by the communalism of the Indian people. Magonismo is fundamentally supported by three currents: Mexican liberalism, European anarchism and Indigenous communalism.

Magonismo is an expression of what we call socialism. It has as its principal demands a call for re-communalization, restitution of communal lands to the people and respect for the difference between the Indian people and an increasingly mestizo and western society.

In this essay we seek to show the profound connection that existed between ethnic resistance and the Magonistas at the beginning of the century. It is the history of a struggle which has not ended, as the "vanquished" continue fighting in the mountains, jungles, highlands and barrios. The Magonista ideas have not died, but, on the contrary, have germinated, and are part of the memory of the living history of a people that refuse to die, regardless of the wishes and forces of the technocratic rulers.

## MAGONISMO: RADICAL CURRENT OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

Magonismo was a political movement independent of the state, which took its name from the revolutionary Oaxacan Flores Magón brothers. This movement arose spontaneously in 1892, and later closely aligned itself with other revolutionary movements. This association diluted their ideological purity, though they left a recognizable imprint on the other movements.

Many Magonistas died in jail or in violent confrontations with federal troops,



1900s. Through various means, these modern Liberals criticized the links between the dictator and foreign exploiters.

## ANARCHY TRAVELS TO MÉXICO

The ideas regarding social change, ad-

ist tendencies expressed in the program and gave the document a reformist tone. However, that same year, the Mexican Liberal Party made an open invitation to the people to take up arms against the dictatorship.

In the Manifesto of 1911, the anarchist



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This struggle has been on-going, and has not only confronted the Spanish, French and North American invaders, but also the conservative and liberal governments of independent México and the group that inherited power as a result of the defeat of the so-called "Mexican Revolution."

Porfirio Díaz [dictator of México from 1876-1910], the bloodthirsty Oaxacan "pacifist," like the serene Santa Ana [dictator from 1824-1855], handed over our resources and lands to the foreign invader, and during his rule developed a process of capitalist modernization based on dispossession and violence against the already diminished Indigenous nations.

As a response to these actions the Native people organized revolts both during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and during the period of armed struggle. These revolts were aimed at regaining their plundered lands and stopping the process of domination. They fought for their way of life.

Communalism, like Indian customs, puts forward a concept of social property, directly democratic forms of representation, and a utilization of labor and resources where the notion of the commodity is excluded. In that way, the Indians' way of life presented an obstacle to the project of a national state and capitalist modernization, the project that drove Porfirio Díaz and his successors.

Magonismo, through many of its actions, proclamations, articles, programs, rebellions and assemblies, showed itself to be a movement connected to the Indigenous nations' traditional resistance struggle.

In a predominantly rural country, like México was at the beginning of the 20th

Indian people and an increasingly mestizo and western society.

In this essay we seek to show the profound connection that existed between ethnic resistance and the Magonistas at the beginning of the century. It is the history of a struggle which has not ended, as the "vanquished" continue fighting in the mountains, jungles, highlands and barrios. The Magonista ideas have not died, but, on the contrary, have germinated, and are part of the memory of the living history of a people that refuse to die, regardless of the wishes and forces of the technocratic rulers.

## MAGONISMO: RADICAL CURRENT OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

Magonismo was a political movement independent of the state, which took its name from the revolutionary Oaxacan Flores Magón brothers. This movement arose spontaneously in 1892, and later closely aligned itself with other revolutionary movements. This association diluted their ideological purity, though they left a recognizable imprint on the other movements.

Many Magonistas died in jail or in violent confrontations with federal troops, while others came to govern their states or became deputies; many others died poor.

The Magonista movement, like other popular currents, was defeated. Once it took governmental power, the revolution died. The group that capitalized on this great social movement saw itself as obliged to adopt some programmatic axioms from Magonismo in order to give revolutionary character to the still-born political Constitution of 1917. Without a doubt, Magonismo constituted the principal opposition to Porfirian tyranny, but ultimately did not succeed in making its more advanced social project triumphant.

## THE CONSTITUTION HAS DIED

*The grand edifice of fraternity, democracy and national greatness rises above tyranny's insults, rises above the clergy's manipulations, rises above capitalism and militarism*

—February, 1907. Liberal Manifesto.

The revolutionaries of the Mexican Liberal Party recognized that they had been greatly influenced by the anti-imperialist, anti-clerical and reformist spirit of the liberals of the Reform. This can best be seen in their constant criticism of the role played by the ecclesiastical hierarchy and



1900s. Through various means, these modern Liberals criticized the links between the dictator and foreign exploiters.

## ANARCHY TRAVELS TO MÉXICO

The ideas regarding social change advocated by European socialists found fertile ground in México during the 1800s and they directly influenced some of the popular social movements of that time. European socialism left its egalitarian imprint on the School of Socialism, in the devastated region of Chalco, and on the artisans' mutualist unions.

While anarchists and Marxists were fighting for control of the First International in Europe, Zalcosta, Santa Fe, José María González and Juan de la Mata Rivera were spreading the egalitarian ideal of European socialism throughout México by means of Liberal newspapers, public forums and traveling throughout the countryside.

Of the different tendencies of European socialist thought, anarchism exercised the most influence on the members of the organizing committee of the Mexican Liberal Party.

Anti-statism, atheism, egalitarianism and a rejection of the electoral system attracted an important part of the Mexican Liberal Party. Repression, persecution, jailing and exile had laid the groundwork for these ideas; this sector of the Mexican Liberal Party saw radical revolution as the only solution to the despotism of the

ist tendencies expressed in the program and gave the document a reformist tone. However, that same year, the Mexican Liberal Party made an open invitation to the people to take up arms against the dictatorship.

In the Manifestos of 1911, the anarchist core of the Mexican Liberal Party directed their attacks against the unholy trinity: capital, authority and the clergy. They openly advocated the formation of armed militias.

The last Magonista manifesto was published in March, 1918. It called for anarchists around the world to revolt, since the world found itself on the brink of the abyss as a result of the First World War. As with many of the writings of the Mexican Liberal Party, this manifesto ended with the cry, "Land and Freedom!"—a cry that had first been raised years before by Prádexis G. Guerrero, who had taken it from the Russian populists. This manifesto would ultimately result in the jailing and death of Ricardo Flores Magón.

## THE COMMUNALIST TRADITION AND MAGONISMO

The centuries-long struggle of the Indigenous groups in México, their tenacious resistance and their communitarian tradition were, without a doubt, strongly present in the thought and actions of the Magonistas.

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From 1892 until 1903, Magonismo openly defended the implementation of the February 5, 1857 Constitution; the Liberals continually denounced the systematic violations of the Constitution by judges, bureaucrats and pen-pushers.

Although the majority of the Liberal clubs only expressed anti-clerical sentiments, Ricardo Flores Magón, at risk to his life, also denounced Porfirista tyranny during the First Liberal Congress. The valiant position of this 26-year-old Oaxacan left an anti-Porfirista stamp on the liberal debate.

During their first years, the Liberals spent a lot of energy publishing newspapers. These papers played an important role as instruments of agitation, condemnation and propagation of ideas. These Liberal papers were the scourge of government officials, whom they harshly criticized and satirized. The anti-imperialist tradition that sprang from the Liberal movement during the period of the Wars of Intervention fed the imaginations of the Liberals of the early

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The organizing committee of the Mexican Liberal Party, as a whole, didn't take an openly anarchist stance until after 1906. However, starting in 1904, the party aided in the creation of armed groups in more than 12 states of the Mexican Republic.

The dominant anarchist tendency in the organizing committee was clearly expressed in a letter sent by Ricardo Flores Magón to his brother Enrique and to Práxedes G. Guerrero on July 13, 1908. On the one hand, the anti-statist tendency was a determining factor in allying with anarchists from other countries, and, in particular, with the IWW in the United States. However, it was also a factor in the defection of a number of Liberals to the Maderista camp. [Francisco Indalecio Madero is credited with leading the overthrow of Díaz; he then became President, but failed to implement significant reforms.]

Juan Sarabia, final editor of the 1906 Program of the Mexican Liberal Party, downplayed the anarchist and communal-

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At the beginning of this century, the Indigenous population was the most exploited sector of Mexican workers. They were peons on large haciendas and many of them worked in mines or constructing the railways.

According to Magón, revolution should guarantee people the right to survive, and he believed that only a social revolution would be able to give all people control of the land. He believed that common good and freedom could only be achieved by eliminating every kind of master. "The most urgent social necessity in México is to give the people dignity..."

In his 1911 writings, Ricardo pointed out that when the Indigenous people of México take control of the hacienda lands with rifles in hand and work those lands in common, they create an important social and economic transformation. In contrast to the doctrinaire socialists, Ricardo made the point that the "bandits," who caused so much grief for the bourgeoisie, didn't necessarily have to have read Kropotkin or Marx to

(Continued to next page)



## Magonismo

(Continued from previous page)

help bring about social revolution. In *Regeneración*, Ricardo wrote: "We have sent word to our brothers of the various Indian tribes calling for them to take possession of the land. Our forces will fully support their just actions..."

The Mexican people are ripe for communism because they live it and have lived it; the communalist tradition, the mechanisms of community representation, the working of common land and the fierce tradition of resistance made their mark on the Magonistas' actions and debates.

The cry of "Land and Freedom!" that shook different regions of México scared the caciques, landlords and political leaders who had, under the protection of Don Porfirio, fenced-in entire villages, looted their resources, and fattened their own bank accounts with the blood, sweat and tears of Indigenous workers.

The connections between Magonismo and Indigenous struggles created, in large part, the conditions necessary for the re-taking of land by Indigenous peasants through armed conflict.

### MAGONISTAS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TOGETHER IN ARMED REVOLT

The delegates of the organizing committee of the Mexican Liberal Party traveled throughout the country making pacts and distributing information. Meanwhile, a group that remained in the United States established contact with the Liberals by mail. These Liberals maintained the spirit of resistance in many parts of the country. The organizing committee established strong links with the Indigenous movements many months before the uprisings of 1906.

In Anenecuilco, Morelos, a community meeting agreed that the time had arrived for rebellion, and thus started the Zapatista

who protested were exiled to the jungles of Quintana Roo near the Valle Nacional, or were assassinated by the rurales (police force similar to the Spanish Civil Guard).

When the delegate of the Mexican Liberal Party arrived in Veracruz in 1904, the Indigenous communities were undertaking legal action aimed at recovering land and resources that had been plundered. The memory of the protest movement at the beginning of this century is still alive in the oral tradition of the Zoque-Populucan peoples.

During 1905 and 1906, the Magonistas devoted themselves to propaganda and making connections with the Indigenous communities.

Faced with the growing expansion of the properties of Pearson and the Veracruz Land and Cattle Co.—which together had taken possession of more than 175,000 hectares of communal land—the Indigenous people, tired of legal maneuvers, enthusiastically took up the Liberal cause. On Sept. 28, they occupied Soteapan, Mecayapan and Pajapan.

Two days later 1,000 Indians entered into violent combat in Acayucan; they were defeated and retreated back to the mountains. On Oct. 4 there was still fighting going on in the vicinity of Soteapan. There, the federales were defeated, despite reinforcements from Juchitán.

Throughout the region there were revolts that lasted several days before they were put down.

The uprising of September-October 1906 didn't last. More than 400 insurgents were exiled to San Juan de Ulúa and their villages were razed. Other insurgents went into hiding or were isolated in small groups. The communities continued their legal maneuvers, and in Ixhuatlán the struggle against the cacique Nicasio L. Rosaldo continued under the direction of Daniel P. Gavilla.

With the defeat of the revolution came the defeat of the struggles of the Indigenous people south of Veracruz. The inhabitants of the area would have to wait until the '40s and the '50s to retrieve some of their communal land, and the majority of those who had participated in the strug-

Pitahaya, Sonora. Inscribed in the red flag which they planted there were the two words "Land" and "Liberty."

Ricardo Flores Magón reported on the successful use of copies of *Regeneración* by the Yaquis, who used them as simple fuses with dynamite or nitroglycerin at the end. The devastation that they caused among the federales was grave.

The Yaqui war officially ended in 1929. More than fifty continuous years of war almost succeeded in actualizing the Porfirista soldiers' old dream—to exterminate the "beast."

### THE MAGONISTAS TERRIFY THE RULING CLASS

At the beginning of the 20th century in the North of Yucatán, the Henequen people lived under slavery. In the South of the peninsula the unsubmitive Maya kept old Xatab, the heart of the kingdom of the Speaking Cross, as their capital.

The Liberal groups distributed the 1906 Program in the north of Yucatán and prepared themselves for armed revolt. They did a grand agitation campaign, which included exploding bombs in Tepich, Acanceh and other Mayan towns. In 1910 the Valladolid people rose in arms. This movement was defeated and dozens of Magonistas were jailed; of these, three were executed.

For the Party of the Southeast, the primary goal was the redistribution of communal lands, or ejidos, to the Indigenous people. The appropriation of land for Indigenous communities was the principal contribution of the old Liberals to the revolution.

### THE PEASANTS SAY ENOUGH AND SHOW IT WITH THEIR DEEDS

"¡Nemi Zapata! ¡Nemi Zapata! Nian ca namotata; ayemo miqui. ¡Nemi Zapata!" (Zapata still lives! Long live Zapata! Here is your father, he hasn't died. Long live Zapata!)

As of June, 1910, there were revolutionary uprisings in a growing movement that, in 1911, culminated in the fall of Porfirio

ideal, unlike Villismo.

The complications in communication between the Magonista core that resided in the north and the revolutionaries in México were sharpened by the constant persecution and jailing of many of the leaders of the movement.

The organizing committee of the Mexican Liberal Party disseminated condemnations of the Madero, Huerta and Carranza governments through their publications. On account of this, these governments asked the US government to persecute the party.

In the context of the First World War and the general increase in social change struggles by peoples throughout the world, the core of the Mexican Liberal Party in the United States sent out a call for world revolution and openly expressed support for the rebels that rose in arms against their government in Texas, Oklahoma and other states in the US.

For Ricardo Flores Magón, the triumph of the Mexican revolution was necessarily tied to worldwide revolt, including North American revolution. He realized that the big capitalists of the United States and their army would never permit their neighbor to the south to consolidate a revolutionary process.

Ricardo Flores Magón was assassinated in a North American jail. The surviving Magonistas persisted in their struggle until death, in accordance with the proclamation of 1914: "Now we must work with the same spirit as before until death or victory. Long live land and liberty!"

### SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

History, written by the victors, is presented to us deformed, so much so that an Indigenous presence does not exist in historical accounts of this century.

Since Tlaccateotl, we know that the destruction and manipulation of popular memory is indispensable to maintaining power. The ruling class utilizes different means to achieve this objective. The powerful know well that a people without memory is weak and manipulable, which is why they have made Magonismo into



shook different regions of Mexico scared the caciques, landlords and political leaders who had, under the protection of Don Porfirio, fenced-in entire villages, looted their resources, and fattened their own bank accounts with the blood, sweat and tears of Indigenous workers.

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In Anenecuilco, Morelos, a community meeting agreed that the time had arrived for rebellion, and thus started the Zapatista movement. The Magonistas, in solidarity with the struggle, connected themselves with the Zapatistas, and many Magonistas joined the southern forces. They fought with the peasants who came down from the mountains in search of justice.

The Indigenous people of México contributed decisively to the radicalization of the revolution. The Magonistas constantly strengthened their alliance with the Indigenous movements—movements that viewed revolt as the only means of defending their rights. In this way, they prepared the country to take advantage of the coming storm: social revolution.

## MAGONISTA INFLUENCE IN THE NORTHERN ISTHMUS

In the northeastern portion of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec lie the cantons of Acayucan, Minatitlán and Tuxtla in the state of Veracruz. This region had long been inhabited by communities of the Zoque, Popoluca, Nahuatl and Chontal peoples, and is characterized by fertile lands and forests rich in tropical woods. It was here that the Magonista movement and the traditional Indigenous struggle mixed and created one of the most radical and pro-

gressive people, tired of legal maneuvers, enthusiastically took up the Liberal cause. On Sept. 28, they occupied Soteapan, Mecayapan and Pajapan.

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Recently, in 1985, 20,000 Nahuas from Pajapan managed to halt the plundering of their lands by PEMEX [the state-run oil monopoly in México] despite jailings and confrontations.

The Magonista actions haven't been forgotten by the Indians south of Veracruz; their struggle has not ended.

## INDIGENOUS OAXACA REBELS

In the State of Oaxaca the impact of modernization worsened with the construction of the Nacional de Tehuantepec and Mexicano del Sur railroads. Numerous Indigenous communities faced dispossession by foreign surveying companies during the reign of Porfirio Díaz; at that time, the mines were regaining economic strength. Oaxaca was in fourth place in foreign investment nationally.

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The state of war that reigned on Mexican land impeded communication among the Magonistas. Many stayed isolated and integrated into the peasant armies.

After taking Guadalupe, Chihuahua, which created the Libertarian army led by Prisciliano Silva in 1911, the Magonista's main enemy was Maderismo. This fact deeply divided the Mexican Liberal Party.

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We know well that Magonismo has not died, that Magonista thought has continued permeating sectors of the Mexican people in struggle. When the young gangs from the barrios and the marginalized neighborhoods of México City declared "the government does not want us because we are Magonistas"; when the drivers of Chiapas





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It was Porfirismo that realized the old dream of linking the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of México by railway. The railway construction project was given to the English firm Pearson and Son Ltd., with whom Porfirio Díaz had an excellent personal relationship.

The development of the ports of Salina Cruz and México (Coatzacoalcas) as well as the construction of the railroad in Tehuantepec, violently aggravated the plundering of the region's land and woods.

The forest lands next to rivers, roads, and the sea were stripped of their tropical woods. Within a few years there was wide-scale hunting in the areas where they had stripped the caoba and cedro woods. The forests provided the ties for the railroads. None of this benefited the original inhabitants of the region.

In this way the Indigenous people suffered not only the plundering of their resources, but were forced into slave labor. They also suffered from the imposition of repressive, authoritarian measures. Those

gives in the south died poor. Among those was Candido Donato Padua, one of the founders of the Federación Anarquista de México [Mexican Anarchist Federation] in the '40s, who was still expounding radical struggle when he died.

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Starting in 1910, the Indigenous people in various regions of the state rose up to retake land and throw out the political bosses. For their part, the Zapatistas operated at length in Oaxaca, above all in the Mixtec region; some Magonistas became followers of Zapata, taking up the cry "Long live land and liberty!"

## THE YAQUIS TAKE UP THE RED FLAG

In July, 1901, after the execution of chief Tetabiate, the Yaquis, caught in a war of extermination, listened to the word of the Temastian Tascaichola, and it was his sad and outraged voice that motivated them to continue fighting the holy war for the land. It fell to Opodepe and Sibalaume to lead the Yaquis' guerrilla struggle. In 1908 the Mexican Liberal Party delegate in the states of Baja California and Sonora was the Indian Fernando Palomares, who created an easy alliance with chief Sibalaume. That same year the Mexican Liberal Party also made alliances with the insurgent Tarahumaras led by Santa Pérez.

On August 31, 1911, five hundred Yaquis took the federal barracks by storm in

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The Magonistas succeeded in controlling an extensive area of Northern Baja California for five months, and they maintained armed groups in the northern states for more than two years.

In 1913, the Magonista Antonio de P. Araujo began negotiations with Zapata, who proposed that *Regeneración* be published in Morelos, the liberated zone. The Magonistas Barrio, Rangel, Díaz Soto y Gama, among many others, actively participated in the Zapatista armies, which were mainly composed of Indigenous Nahuas, Mixtecs, Amuzgos, Otomís, etc. The presence of the Magonistas left its stamp on Zapatismo.

Ricardo Flores Magón, through articles published in *Regeneración* in 1914 and 1915, defended Zapatismo, which he saw as the materialization of the revolutionary

street names and pretexts for their demagogic discourses.

We know well that Magonismo has not died, that Magonista thought has continued permeating sectors of the Mexican people in struggle. When the young gangs from the barrios and the marginalized neighborhoods of México City declared "the government does not want us because we are Magonistas"; when the drivers of Chiapas

and Oaxaca fought up front against the charro unionism that tried to get rid of their Flores Magón National Union; when in a city besieged by thousands of soldiers, above the principal door of the university read the message: "The tyrants appear big because we are kneeling; let us rise," when all this happened, we knew that Magonismo had not died and will not die, because important sectors of the Mexican population have decided to continue fighting. In an unjust México, where more than a million deaths served the rise of the so-called "revolutionary family," and since the seat of power, in alliance with foreign sectors, gives free reign to an intense process of capitalist development that is nothing but the destruction of the Mexican country, we know that Magonismo will be present in order to end these crazy times. ★



# Marcos Interview

*(Continued from page 15)*

Mexicans not have the same value? The people in the US have a great deal to do with the reality which you can observe here, with the conditions of misery of the Indians and the great hunger for justice. In México, the entire social system is based upon the injustice in its relations with the Indians. The worst thing that can happen to a human being is to be Indian, with all its burden of humiliation, hunger and misery.

This is a subversive movement. Our objective is the solution of the principal problems of our country, which necessarily intersect with problems of liberty and democracy. That's why we think that the government of Salinas de Gortari is an illegitimate government, which can only convene illegitimate elections.

The only solution is a call to all citizens, and to the House of Deputies and Senators, to comply with their patriotic duty and remove Salinas de Gortari and all his cabinet, and to form a transitional government. And that transitional government should call elections, with equal opportunity for all political parties.

Based on that, the *compañeros* say, other demands can be negotiated: bread, housing, health, education, land, justice, many problems which, within the context of Indigenous people, are very serious. But the demands for liberty and democracy are being made as a call to all the Mexican Republic, to all the social sectors to participate, not with guns, but with the means that they have.

We've been isolated all these years, while the rest of the world rebelled against dictatorships or apparent dictatorships, and this was viewed with logic. While in this country

a series of dictatorial measures were being adopted, and no one said anything. We believe there is an international consensus that only the Mexicans were missing, who have suffered under an absolute dictatorship by one party and now by one person, who is Carlos Salinas de Gortari, now through Luis Donaldo Colosio. I think that at the international level they will see that a movement with demands like these is logical.

There is not in the movement of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation an ideology perfectly defined, in the sense of being communist or Marxist-Leninist. There is a common point of connection with the great national problems, which coincide always, for one or the other sector, in a lack of liberty and democracy.

In this case, this sector has used up any other method of struggle such as the legal struggle, the popular struggle, the economic projects, the struggle for Sedesol, and it ends following the only method which

remains, the armed struggle. But we are open to other tendencies and to other forms of struggle, in the enthusiasm to generate a genuine national and revolutionary movement that reconciles these two fundamental demands, liberty and democracy. On these grounds a movement can be formed that will breathe a genuine solution to the economic and social problems of each sector, whether Indigenous or peasant, worker, teacher, intellectual, small business owner, of the small and medium-sized industry.

The repression to the Indigenous population has been present for many years. The Indigenous people of Chiapas suffer 15,000 deaths per year, which no one mourns. The great shame is that they die of curable diseases and this is denied by the Department of Health.

We expect a favorable reaction from Mexican society towards the reasons that give birth to this movement, because they are just. ★

# A Storm and a Prophecy

*(Continued from page 15)*

sand-some teeth sunk into the throat of southeastern México. Primary materials, thousands of millions which flow to Mexican ports, and railroad, air and truck transportation centers headed towards different parts of the world: The United States, Canada, Holland, Germany, Italy, Japan; but with the same fate: imperialism. The fee that capitalism imposes on the southeastern part of this country oozes, as it has since from the beginning, blood and mud.

A handful of businesses, one of which is the state of México, take all the wealth out of Chiapas leaving behind in exchange their mortal and pestilent track: in 1989

ants are not allowed to cut down trees to cultivate the land. Every tree that is cut down costs them a fine of 10 minimum wages and a jail sentence. The poor cannot cut down trees while the petroleum beast, every day more in foreign hands, can. The peasant cuts them to survive, the beast to plunder.

Chiapas also bleeds coffee. Thirty five percent of the coffee produced in México comes from the area. The industry employs 87,000 people. Forty seven percent is for national consumption and 53% is exported abroad, principally to the United States and Europe. More than 100,000 tons of coffee leave the state to fatten the beast's bank accounts: in 1988 a kilo of *pergamino* coffee was sold abroad for 8,000 pesos. The

Chiapas' forests. Between 1981 and 1989 2,444,777 cubic meters of precious woods, conifers, and tropical tree types were taken out of Chiapas destined for the Federal District, Puebla, Veracruz, and Quintana Roo. In 1988 wood exports brought a revenue of 23,900,000,000 pesos, 6,000% more than in 1980.

Honey that is produced in 79,000 beehives in Chiapas goes entirely to US and European markets. The 2,756 tons of honey produced annually in the Chiapan countryside is converted into dollars which the people of Chiapas never see.

Of the corn produced in Chiapas more than half goes to the domestic market. Chiapas is one of the biggest producers in the country. Sorghum grown in Chiapas goes to Tabasco. Ninety percent of the tamarind goes to the Federal District and other states. Two-thirds of the avocados and all of the *mameyes* are sold outside of the state. Sixty nine percent of the cacao

sewage. Ninety percent of the rural population pays minimum or no taxes.

Communication is a grotesque joke for a state which produces petroleum, electric energy, coffee, wood, and cattle for the hungry beast. Only two-thirds of municipality capitals have paved-road access. Twelve thousand communities have no other means of transport and communication than mountain trails. Since the days of Porfirio Díaz, the railroad lines have serviced capitalism rather than the people. The railroad line that follows the coast (there are only two lines: the other crosses the northern part of the state) dates back to the turn of the century and its tonnage is limited by the old bridges which cross the canyons of the southeast. The only Chiapan port, Puerto Madero, is just one more way for the beast to extract the state's resources.

Education. The worst in the country. At the elementary school level, of every 100 children, 72 don't finish the first grade. More than half of the schools only offer up to third grade and half only have one teacher for all the courses offered. There are very high numbers, though these are of



(Continued from page 15)

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In any Indigenous community it is common to see children carrying corn and wood, cooking, or washing clothes during school hours. Of the 16,058 classrooms in 1989, only 96 were in Indigenous zones.

Look: 40% of Chiapan "industry" consists of tortilla, tortilla corn, and wood furniture mills. Large companies (petroleum and electricity), 0.2% of the total industry, belong to the Mexican government (and soon to foreigners). Medium-sized industry, 0.4%, is made up of sugar refineries and fish, seafood, flour, milk, and coffee processing plants. Of the state's industry, 94.8% is micro-industry.

The health conditions of the people of Chiapas are a clear example of the capitalist imprint: One and a half million people have no medical services at their disposal. There are 0.2 clinics for every thousand inhabitants, five times less than the national average. There are 0.3 hospital beds for every thousand Chiapans, three times less than in the rest of México. There is one operating room per 100,000 inhabitants, two times less than in the rest of México and 0.5 doctors and 0.4 nurses per 1,000 people, two times less than the national average.

Health and nutrition go hand in hand in poverty. Fifty four percent of the Chiapan population suffers from malnutrition and in the highlands and forest this percentage



Photo by Rudolfo Valtierra Cuartoscuro, Impact Visuals

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The second most important export after coffee is beef. Three million head of cattle

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the financial tooth obtained a filling of 1,222,669,000,000 pesos and only left behind 616,340,000,000 in credits and works. More than 600,000,000 pesos went to the stomach of the beast.

In Chiapas, Pemex has 86 teeth clenched in the municipalities of Estacion Juarez, Reforma, Ostuacan, Pichucalco, and Ocosingo. Every day they suck 92,000 barrels of petroleum and 517,000,000,000 cubic feet of gas. They take the petroleum and gas away and leave the stamp of capitalism as change: ecological destruction, agricultural scraps, hyperinflation, alcoholism, prostitution, and poverty. The beast is not satisfied and extends its tentacles to the Lacandon Forest: eight petroleum deposits are under exploration. The paths are made with machetes by the same peasants who were left without land by the insatiable beast. The trees fall and dynamite explodes on land where peas-

Chiapan producers were paid 2,500 or less.

The second most important export after coffee is beef. Three million head of cattle wait for coyotes and a small group of people who do the introductions to go and fill refrigerators in Arriaga, Villahermosa, and the Federal District. The cattle are sold for 400 pesos per kilo by the poor farmers and resold by the coyotes and introducers for up to 10 times the price they paid for them.

The tribute that capitalism demands from Chiapas has no historical parallel. 55% of national hydro-electric energy comes from this state along with 20% of México's total electrical energy. However, only one third of the homes in Chiapas have electricity. Where do the 12,907 kilowatts produced annually by hydroelectric plants in Chiapas go?

In spite of the trend of ecological awareness, the extraction of wood continues in

goes to the national market and 31% is exported to the US, Holland, Japan, and Italy. The majority of the bananas produced are exported.

What does the beast leave behind in exchange for all it takes away?

Chiapas has a total area of 75,634.4 square kilometers, some 7.5 million hectares. It is the eighth largest state and is divided into 111 municipalities organized for looting purposes into nine economic regions. Forty percent of the nation's plant varieties, 36% of its mammals, 34% of its reptiles and amphibians, 66% of the bird species, 20% of the sweet-water fish, and 80% of the butterfly species are found in Chiapas. Seven percent of the total national rainfall falls in Chiapas. But its greatest wealth is the 3.5 million people of Chiapas, of whom two-thirds live and die in rural communities. Half of them don't have potable water and two-thirds have no

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Health and nutrition go hand in hand in poverty. Fifty four percent of the Chiapan population suffers from malnutrition and in the highlands and forest this percentage increases to 80%. A peasant's average diet consists of coffee, corn, tortillas, and beans.

*Capitalism is in debt for everything that it takes away...*

This part of the Mexican territory, which willingly annexed itself to the young independent republic in 1824, appeared in national geography when the petroleum boom reminded the country that there was a southeast (82% of Pemex's petrochemical plants are in the southeast; in 1990 two thirds of public investment in the southeast was in energy). But this state does not respond to the fashions of presidential terms. Its experience of exploitation goes back for centuries. In times past woods,

(Continued to next page)



## ¡Viva Zapata!

(Continued from previous page)

fruits, animals, and men went to the metropolis through the veins of exploitation just as they do today. Like the banana republics, but at the peak of neoliberalism and "libertarian revolutions," the southeast continues to export primary materials, just as they did 500 years ago, and continues to export capitalism's principal production: death and misery.

One million Indigenous people live in these lands and suffer a heavy disequilibrium with mestizos and Latinos: their only option, 500 years after the "meeting of two worlds," is to die of misery or repression. The program to improve the conditions of poverty, a small stain of social democracy which the Mexican state throws about and which with Salinas de Gortari carries the name Pronasol, is a joke that costs tears of blood to those who live under the rain and sun.

*Welcome! You have arrived in the poorest state in the country: Chiapas.*

Let's suppose that you drive on to Ocosingo and from there down to Tuxtla Gutiérrez, the state capital. You don't stay long. Tuxtla Gutiérrez is only a large warehouse which stores products from other parts of the state. Here you find some of the wealth which will be sent to whichever destinations the capitalists decide. You don't stay long, you barely touch the lips of the wild beast's bloody jaw. You go on to Chiapas de Corzo without noticing the Nestlé factory that is there, and you begin to climb up into the mountains. What do you see? One thing is certain: you have entered into another world: an Indigenous world. Another world, but the same as that in which millions in the rest of the country live.

Three hundred thousand Tzotziles, 120 thousand Cholés, 90 thousand Zoques, and

administered by... the army!

Without leaving your uncertainty behind, drive on... Do you see them? Modern buildings, nice homes, paved roads... Is it a university? Workers' housing?

don't look the posters which is the only thing that the government has sent to these children. Don't look at them: they are posters about AIDS prevention.

Better for us to move on, let's return to

No, I already told you that the Porfirista large-landed estate was done away with 75 years ago... It would be better for us to move on... At the next intersection take a left. No, don't go towards Palenque. Let's go to Chilón... Pretty, no? Yes Yajalon... very modern, it even has a gas station... Look, there's a bank, the municipal building, the courthouse, over there the army... It looks like another hacienda? Let's go and you won't see those other large, modern buildings in the outskirts, along the road to Tila and Sabanilla with their big beautiful SOLIDARIDAD signs, you won't see that it is... a jail.

Good, we got to the intersection. Now to Ocosingo... Palenque? Are you sure? Okay, let's go. Yes, beautiful countryside. Are those ranches? Correct: cattle, coffee, wood. Look, we're already at Palenque. A quick tour of the city? Okay. Those are hotels, over there restaurants, the municipal building, the courthouse, those are the army barracks, and over there... What? No, I already know what you're going to tell me... Don't say it... Tired? Okay, we'll stop for a bit. You don't want to see the pyramids? No? Okay. Kinich? Ah... an Indigenous march. Yes, it's going to México City. How



No, look at the sign next to the cannons closely and read: "General Army Barracks of the 31st Military Zone." With the olive-green image still in your eyes drive on to the intersection and decide not to go to Comitán so that you will avoid the pain of seeing that a few meters ahead, on the hill that is said to belong to the Foreigner, North American military personnel are operating, and teaching their Mexican counterparts to operate, a radar. Decide that it is better to go to Ocosingo since ecology is very fashionable and all that nonsense. Look at the trees, breathe deeply... Do you feel better? Yes? Then be

the paved roads. Yes, I know that it is in bad condition. Let's leave Ocosingo, continue to admire the countryside... The owners? Yes, ranch owners. Production? Cattle, coffee, corn... Did you see the National Indigenous Institute? Yes, the one as you leave the city. Did you see those pick-up trucks? They are given on credit to Indigenous peasants. They only take unleaded gas because it's better for the environment... There is no unleaded gas in Ocosingo? Well, that's just a little thing... Yes, you are right, the government is worried about the peasants. Of course evil tongues say that there are guerrillas in

far? 1,106 kilometers. Results? They receive their petitions. Yes, that's all. Are you still tired? More? Let's hope... To Bonampak? The road is very bad. Okay, let's go. Yes, the panoramic route... This is the Federal Military Reserves, that other one, the Navy, the one over there the Ministry of Government... Is it always like this? No, sometimes they top it off with a peasants' protest march. Tired? Do you want to go back? Okay. Other places? Distinct? In what country? México? You will see the same. The colors will change, the languages, the countryside, the names, but the people, the exploitation, the misery, and



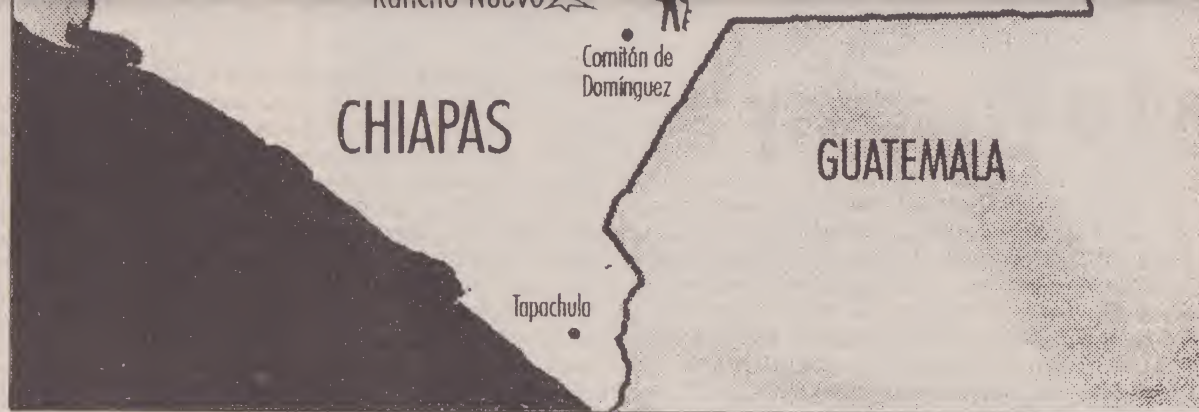
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Three hundred thousand Tzotziles, 120 thousand Choles, 90 thousand Zoques, and 70 thousand Tojolabales inhabit this Indigenous world. The supreme government recognizes that "only" half of these million Indigenous people are illiterate.

You continue along the mountain road and arrive at the region known as the Chiapan highlands. Here, more than 500 years ago, Indigenous people were majority masters and owners of land and water. Now they are only the majority in number and in poverty. Drive on until you reach San Cristóbal de las Casas which 100 years ago was the state capital (bourgeois fists robbed it of the dubious honor of being the capital of the poorest state in México). No, don't linger. If Tuxla Gutierrez is a large warehouse, San Cristóbal is a large market. From many different routes the Indigenous tribute of the Tzotziles, Tzeltals, Choles, Tojolabales, and Zoques reach capitalism, each bringing something different: wood, coffee, cloth, handicrafts, fruits, vegetables, corn... Everyone carries something: sickness, ignorance, jeers, and death. This is the poorest region of the poorest state in the country. Welcome to San Cristóbal de las Casas, "colonial city" say the history books, though the majority of the population is Indigenous. Welcome to the huge market which Pronasol embellishes. Here



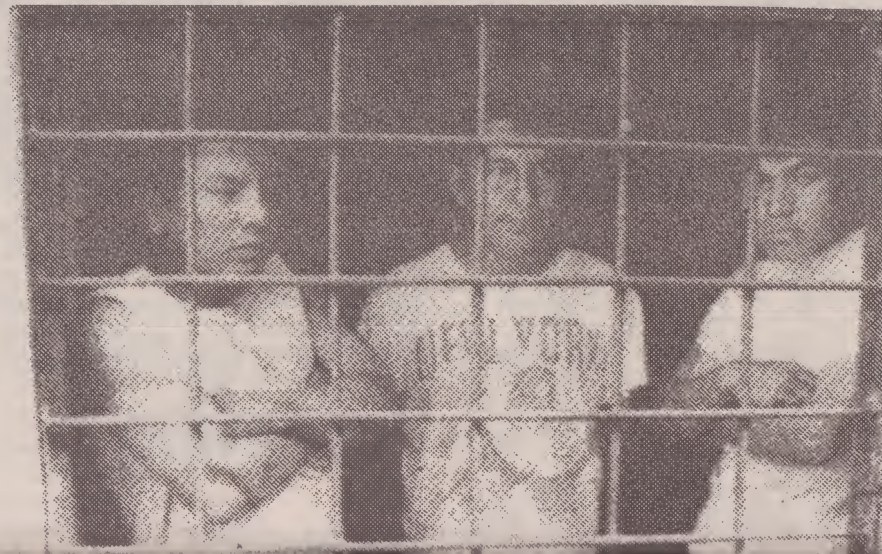
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Good, stay a while. Take a quick tour around the city... Principal points of interest? The two large constructions at the entrance are brothels, next door is a jail, the building further beyond, a church, this other one is a beef-processing plant, that other one, army barracks, over there is the court, the Municipal building, and way over there is Pemex. The rest are small

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Have you calculated the numbers? Yes? You're right: there are seven hotel rooms for every 1,000 tourists while there are only 0.3 hospital beds per 1,000 Chiapan citizens. Leave the calculations behind and drive on noticing the three police officials in berets jogging along the shoulder of the road. Drive by the Public Security station and continue on passing hotels, restaurants, large stores and heading towards the exit towards Comitán. Leaving the "pot" of San Cristóbal behind you will see the famous San Cristóbal caves surrounded by leafy forest. Do you see the sign? No, you are not mistaken, this natural park is

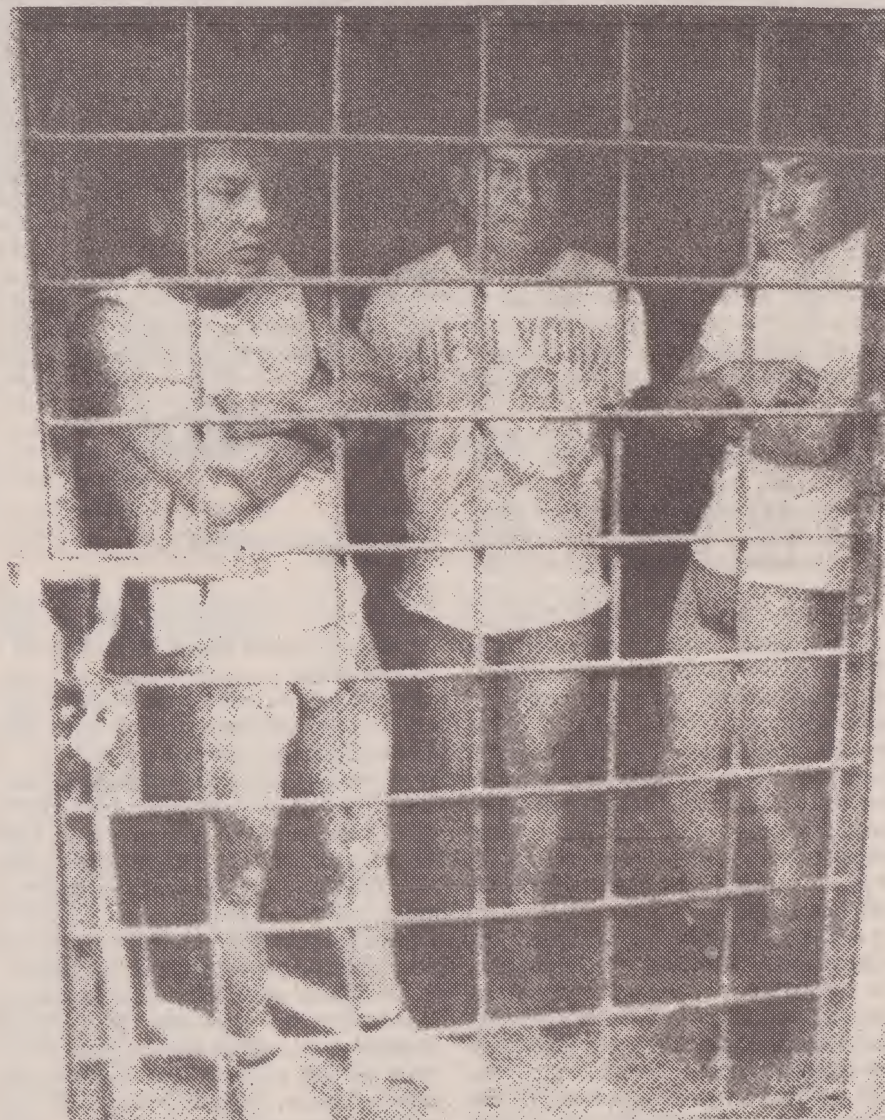
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What do you think? A Porfirista-type large-landed estate? But that ended 75 years ago! No, don't follow the road that goes to San Quintín, in front of the Montes Azules Reserve. Don't go to where the Jatate and Perlas rivers join, don't go down there, don't walk for three eight hour days, don't go to San Martín and see that it is a very poor and small community, don't approach that shed which is falling to pieces. What is it? A sometimes-church, school, meeting room. Now it is a school. It is 11:00 am. No, don't go closer, don't look in, don't look at the four groups of children riddled with tapeworms and lice, half naked, don't look at the four young Indigenous teachers who work for miserable pay for which they have to walk for three days, the same three days that you just walked, to get. Don't notice that the only division between the classrooms is a small hall. Up to what grade do you teach here? Third. No,

evil tongues say that there are guerrillas in these mountains and that the government's financial help is really to buy Indigenous people's loyalty, but these are rumors, surely they are just trying to undermine Pronasol... What? The Citizen's Defense Committee? Oh yes! It consists of a group of "heroic" cattle-raisers, traders, and corrupt union bosses who organize small guards to give threats.

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After freeing more than 200 peasants and Indigenous people from the jails of the various liberated zones, the Zapatista National Liberation Army left, in their place, municipal and state police. In this photo, disarmed and relieved of their uniforms, the long arm of the law shows off the current styles in interior clothing



# Chicago

(Continued from page 3)

too comfortably a liberal, middle class organization. Some members (not all) are big business women 9 to 5 and feel no contradiction in their involvement in WAC. Their lack of critique of the State leads WAC to often find electoral/party political solutions. Instead of being committed to building counter institutions and making the government irrelevant, "Call your congressperson about..." is a general practice. WAC's statement of purpose calls for enactment of the ERA which still puts ultimate faith in legislation as the problem solver. WAC is good at responding to immediate crises in the political mainstream. WAC is also successful in providing an open forum for women from all over the city (from ACT UP to Women for Economic Justice) to exchange ideas, announcements and get bodies for their actions. But as an anarchist, I believe people don't need the government to regulate our needs, which WAC still defers to as Authority.

Riot Grrrl was started in 1992 in Washington DC by a group of young women who were tired of being pushed around at punk shows and tired of the general chauvinism in the punk culture. They formed groups of girl bodyguards to allow women to stand safely near the stage. Riot Grrrl DC grew into many things including a zine and support group for incest survivors. Like WAC, Riot Grrrls sprang up spontaneously in different forms all over the country from Minneapolis, Minn. to Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. A Riot Grrrl inspired group in Chicago just started to "give you (women) a place to hangout with your girlfriends, voicing your opinions, discussing issues, receiving support and providing a place to jam." While most feminist organizations are made up of women at least over twenty, Riot Grrrl is effective in appealing to very young women—mostly teens. Riot

Grrrl's uncompromising attitude and autonomous, free association membership exemplifies some of the best of anarchism.

Sisterserpents was formed in Chicago July 4, 1989 "by a group of radical feminists trying to escape the patriotic melee raging outside." Like WAC, it was responding to the outrageous attacks on women's reproductive rights. Like Riot Grrrl, Sisterserpents see culture as a battleground for women's freedom and use visual art as a vehicle for expression. They do postering, most famously the fetus poster with quotes like "For all you folks who consider a fetus more valuable than a woman...fuck a fetus/get a fetus to work for minimum wage/cry on a fetal shoulder/etc." They also have performances, panel discussions and films.

## SEPARATISM

"Separatist space often facilitates coming to feminist critical consciousness" and, at times, anarchist consciousness. Whether it is confronting the police in WAC direct actions or reacting to the commodification of women's bodies in Sisterserpents, the participants' recognition of their own oppression is a stepping stone to larger critiques of the government and capitalism.

Focusing on sexism, these women's groups recognize that in conjunction with economic and state repression, cultural hegemony (whether it's degrading billboards or chauvinistic music) also keeps us from being free, vital, self-realized selves. Women have a different social and cultural history from men. Sexism defines women's experience of life. It is important for women to come together separate from men to figure out what our socio-cultural history is and how sexism uniquely defines our experience. These insights affect our demands on any movement.

Separatist space also allows women who might not be comfortable being politically active in a coed space (because they are insecure or just sick of being silenced) to take on leadership positions and to experience organizing. This is not only empower-

ing for the individual women involved but also provides the larger anarchist movement with stronger, more creative participants.

Most men who are threatened by separatist women-space fail to recognize it's necessity. These men equate "male-bashing" (saying bad things about men) with separatist women's groups. Male bashing is a separate issue. Recognizing how patriarchy systematically functions to keep women from becoming self-actualized is different from pigeonholing all men into the "asshole" category. The central goal of these groups is overcoming sexism and empowering women.

## MALE BASHING

Sometimes, however, some of these groups make grand, assuming statements about men. Though women have a unique socio-cultural history and are socialized incredibly differently, we are not basically different from men. Sure, some parts of our biology affect our experience of the world—but mostly it is how those biological functions are laden with socialized significance which defines our experience.

Women do themselves a double disservice by defining themselves as the more nurturing, organic, peaceful, morally superior (or whatever) gender. First, by categorizing women we leave limited room for breaking out of strictly defined gender-norms. What if I don't want to be peaceful? What if I don't really feel any special connection to the earth? (etc.) Race and class domination also challenge any monolithic construction of a universal "woman." An impoverished black woman might feel like she has more in common with an impoverished black man than with other "women," so generally stated. Also, stating simply that "men suck" (cover of *Liar* #2 zine), or men are just simply not able to achieve the level of morality of women, lets men off the hook. Only if we expect—if we demand—more of men will they potentially live up to our expectations. I get disturbed when I see cartoons like in Sisterserpent's *Madwoman* #4 zine which shows "history" as men

descending into lower and lower life forms and "herstory" as women ascending. What good does this do? It is essential that we are able to critique patriarchy and engage in ongoing confrontation and struggle with men. That does not mean male bashing. Revolutionary feminist activism must avoid investing in simplistic forms of gender definitions.

## PRO-FEMINIST ANARCHISM

Some of the women involved in separatist groups are also involved with coed anarchist groups. The new Chicago Autonomous Zone anarchist community center is an actively anti-sexist coed (majority male) group. For example, at a recent meeting they decided to not allow a man into the space who made a minority of the women uncomfortable. This consensus affirmed the Autonomous Zone's commitment to women's concerns and to feminism. For another example, they recognize the importance of separatist space by reserving Sunday nights (7-12) for women-only.

In addition to separatist women's groups who often focus specifically on women's issues, coed anarchist groups can be pro-feminist by supporting women-only space. Separatist space allows women to come to feminist and (hopefully) anarchist consciousness and develop their own strengths completely free from sexism. Coed anarchist groups also need to incorporate the unique challenges that these separatist groups bring to the movement, like emphasizing culture as a nexus for struggle. In addition to broader issues, women may also bring specific critiques of internal dynamics. For example, by meeting separately women may collectively realize that men avoid their eye contact in the coed group. Anarchist groups who take time out to focus on process are pro-feminist. With pro-feminist reception, separatist women groups potentially provide stronger more adept organizers for the anarchist movement as a whole.★

# Stonewall

(Continued from page 2)

that target everything from legislative battles to homelessness and squatters' struggles to media campaigns around AIDS. In addition, ACT UP has actively sought to create counter-institutions to state-run social services treating and caring for per-

ty of advanced industrial capitalism to turn movements of resistance into commodified fashion statements, I think we should use these contradictions as sites of contestation and struggle. By bringing to light the radical history of Stonewall and the queer

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queer politics are committed to an appreciation of difference and an ongoing investigation into the ways that identity categories serve authoritarian ends by enforcing codes and norms. Queerness as an "identity," is something that exists mostly in the negative: it is not "straight," not in keeping with the prescribed gender roles that uphold hetero-patriarchy.

To embrace deviance in the label queer is to argue that it is only by undermining rigid understandings of sexuality and gender that we can create a free society. Holding up "respectable" models of homosexuality does not empower queers against homophobic oppression, but rather seeks inclusion within the institutions that keep us down. Instead, queers want to multiply gender options so that, for example, biological maleness is not necessarily linked to masculinity, nor biological femaleness to femininity. The popularity of drag and camp within the queer subculture calls into question the notion that any orientation or gender is authentic or natural, and forces us to rethink the roles that we have been socialized to accept.

In doing so, the queer movement provides space for a radical rethinking of social relationships and the complex ways that power dynamics come into play in these

relationships. Recognition of their own oppression is a stepping stone to larger critiques of the government and capitalism.

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that target everything from legislative battles to homelessness and squatters' struggles to media campaigns around AIDS. In addition, ACT UP has actively sought to create counter-institutions to state-run social services treating and caring for persons with AIDS.

Like Stonewall, however, "queerness" has been adopted by mainstream lesbian and gay rights organizations. At the March on Washington in the spring of 1993, lesbians and gay men carrying signs announcing their corporate employer (AT&T is the first that comes to mind) shouted "We're here, we're queer, we're fabulous, don't fuck with us!" Queer slogans are becoming commodities marketed on the pages of slick magazines like *Outlook* and *The Advocate*.

We should expose the contradictions of corporate lesbians and gays who shout "We're here, we're queer" at pride marches. In what way do these women and men see themselves as queer? And along those lines, how do they align their own struggles to be "out" in the workplace or to effect legislative changes as allied with the lesbians, drag queens and young men of color who participated in the Stonewall Riot? Rather than dwell on the frustrating capaci-

## Parenting

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## HOMOSEXUALS

ARE

DIFFERENT ...

but...

We believe they have the right to be. We believe that the civil rights and human dignity of homosexuals are as precious as those of any other citizen... we believe that the homosexual has the right to live, work and participate in a free society.

Mattachine defends the rights of homosexuals and tries to create a climate of understanding and acceptance.



MATTACHINE SOCIETY INC.  
OF NEW YORK

program filled a need for the Black community and led many non-political neighborhood residents to become active.

6) We need to share skills which give parents more access and involvement and make the most of the time that they can spend.

Another reason why more people of color

youth liberation and anarchist education.

5) Consider adopting; help a child who is "unadoptable" escape from a life of institutions, brutal group homes and abuse.

What I most want to stress is awareness. Imagine kids and babies at every event. For example, at the last Love and Rage



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In doing so, the queer movement provides space for a radical rethinking of social relationships and the complex ways that power dynamics come into play in these relationships. It allows for a nuanced and contextual look at institutions like monogamous coupledness, the nuclear family, the sex industry, etc. It challenges hetero-patriarchy at the level of lived experience by rethinking intimate relationships and by taking to the streets in acts of militant resistance. There is a recognition in the queer movement that society must be changed from the bottom up. That means creating now the kinds of relationships that will be the basis for the society we want to have in the future.

It is perhaps this awareness that led groups such as ACT UP and Queer Nation to be committed to non-hierarchical modes of organization and direct-action politics. Many of their members are not interested in creating respectable "leaders" that can sit on executive boards and mingle with corporate and governmental elites. Both organizations operate within directly democratic assemblies, and ACT UP has several working groups and affinity groups

sons with AIDS.

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## Parenting

(Continued from page 1)

describing how the inequality of time and money can be a hindrance to participation:

1) Education that teaches true history in a non-authoritarian manner needs to be a priority of both men and women. Home-schooling by each individual parent is viable only for those who can afford not to work.

2) Demonstrations often exclude parents, kids, elderly and disabled. If kids can't be part of the demo for safety reasons, then childcare should be provided in a safe place.

3) Childcare is not usually provided at events. Childcare involves a loving, fun environment, a separate room with a place for diaper changing, sleeping, toys and books.

4) Housing needs should be addressed. Squatting is less expensive, but if a squat is going to be liveable for kids material aid must go into helping poor families with construction. Priority of housing should go to homeless families.

5) Meeting the needs of the children in your community is important. For example the Black Panthers' "Breakfast for Children"

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program filled a need for the Black community and led many non-political neighborhood residents to become active.

6) We need to share skills which give parents more access and involvement and make the most of the time that they can spend.

Another reason why more people of color and parents don't get involved on a higher level is lack of security. We all know that government repression can strike at any moment. We face jail—even death—in this country for our political beliefs. Our movement needs to be tight enough and strong enough to take care of the children of captured revolutionaries and our fallen martyrs. How can we even encourage a rent strike if we aren't willing to provide housing in the event that a family gets evicted? Our solidarity is only as strong as our commitment to each other.

The following are some proposals of things to do to help parents have the maximum participation possible:

1) Formation of collective childcare centers and schools.

2) Involvement of older children in the movement, with voting privileges.

3) Be aware of pregnant women and kids in demonstrations and be concerned for their safety if the pigs attack. Try not to run and leave them in the dust.

4) Educate yourself on child-development,

youth liberation and anarchist education.

5) Consider adopting; help a child who is "unadoptable" escape from a life of institutions, brutal group homes and abuse.

What I most want to stress is awareness. Imagine kids and babies at every event. For example, at the last Love and Rage Federation Conference my baby was playing in the middle of a circle of people (because there was no child care room); she ran dangerously close to a flight of stairs. Almost everyone in the room seemed oblivious to this except me and my comrades from the Paterson Anarchist Collective. They have learned to be child-conscious from working closely with my baby and me. This consciousness is a process, and rather than blame people, I want to start this process, which is essential to building a mass movement.

I feel that, in general, people don't envision a mass movement. A mass movement would include babies, kids, moms, dads, grandmoms, and grandads.

To conclude, I believe some of our most valuable comrades are parents; we have to support their efforts and empower them to contribute to their full potential. The most dedicated revolutionary is a person who has a burning love for our children; a person who knows that the only chance our children have for a future is revolutionary struggle.★



## Notes from the **Women** of the Production Group

Producing the Feminism and Revolution Special Issue has been a learning experience for us all. We found it very frustrating at times. Although we publicized the issue months in advance and sent out several calls for submissions, we received very few original submissions from women. We are still unsure of why this happened, but we suspect it has to do with the additional difficulties and constraints that women face in trying to write. We face many of these difficulties ourselves as members of the Production Group; for example, it occurred to us during the production of this issue that three out of the four women on the PG have full-time jobs, while only one out of the four men works full-time. Anyway, the upshot is that we have no letters from women in this issue, and several of our articles are reprints. We are pleased with the participation from women that we have received, and we hope that this issue gives you as much of an opportunity to re-think gender relations as it has for us!

## To Forget Is Divine

But...

—On page 1 of the Dec. 1993 Issue of L&R the photo on page 1 was miscredited. The photo was actually taken by Donna DeCesare, Impact Visuals.

—In the Victoria Scene report on the Notes of Revolt page, Autonomedia (from Victoria, B.C.) wanted to offer the following clarifications and corrections: the march had a total of about 100 people, not 100 anti-authoritarians plus others; the march was not necessarily "racially diverse"; tensions between the anti-authoritarians and party-types which were implied do not necessarily exist; the Activist Centre was founded and is run by a number of groups, which include Autonomedia.

themselves. We welcome travelers and comrades, freaks and friends to join us in our endeavor. We are publishing a zine, aptly named *Activating Dissent* which can be obtained by sending a stamp and direction to us. We also have a space for shows (prospective bands please write), are perpetrating a monthly movie night, and fostering bimonthly wimmin's meetings as well. We have done Food Not Bombs since last May. Help turn SLC into the autonomist hub o' the west.

La Paz y Anarquia,  
The Autonomy House Collective  
P.O. Box 11015  
Salt Lake City, UT 84147.

## BLOODSHED IS INEVITABLE (IN AMERIKKA)

### Climax

On Dec. 7, 1993, in New York, two 15-round clips from a 9-millimeter semiautomatic firearm were emptied into a train-car load of people. And, after the smoke cleared, 5 Whites and 1 Asian (occasionally mistaken for White)

which the infamous "Christopher Columbus" introduced to the "New World" in 1492, followed by an extermination/genocide of Natives of color, transport and enslavement of Afrikans, and on to the "New World Order." These realities cannot exist without many people being terribly oppressed, abused, cheated, lied to, demoralized and forced into a life of misery. So the Laws of Nature, which are derived from the mental, moral and physical constitution of a person in relation to his/her environment, conditions and treatment often determine a course of action. This action can be diplomatic or take the form of suicidal daring to alleviate the problems. And since no person or people can be so oppressed until they can't strike back in some way, there will be action. Recall: Though subjected to the worst slavery in human history, and far out-numbered by Whites with guns, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner (to name a few) managed to stand erect, plan and/or strike back at their oppression and oppressor. Surely they weren't animals, psychos, etc. They were merely responding to a socio-economic and political reality that oppressed Black/African people then, and though with alteration, still oppresses Black/African people now. It's a shame that those liberators were sold-out by "house nigga's."

It appears that Mr. Ferguson chose a form of suicidal daring to alleviate the problems of racism. This is also shown by the presence of his alleged "notes," which would have explained himself in event that he was slain before completing his mission. These actions (though extreme) are quite understandable and not a phenomenon.

### Solution

To make meaningful strides to transform this society, rather than continue psychoanalyzing, name calling, shouting for the death penalty or more gun control (dis-

rian/socialist democracy that will serve the needs of all races and ethnic groups in Amerika. Until then, BLOODSHED IS INEVITABLE IN (AMERIKKKA).

In Struggle!

Sundiata Lumumba

## C.L.R. JAMES ON THE INTERNET

The following letter was sent to Love and Rage via the Internet, a vast computer network which connects users around the world. See page 2 for our Internet address.

Dear Love and Rage,  
Re: Noel Ignatiev's "Human Liberation and Workers' Autonomy: The World View of C.L.R. James"

1. This is a very good explication of James's essential political views, given how bad the secondary literature on James usually is. I am all the more surprised to see it, given the total lack of response to my postings [widely distributed writings] of quotes from James.

2. Ignatiev should have mentioned a very important anthology of James's writings (which includes previously unpublished material), the only one in print in fact: *The C.L.R. James Reader* edited by Anna Grimshaw (Blackwell, 1992; paperback, \$19.95).

3. Ignatiev is one of the few to appreciate James's *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In* (1953). It is one of my personal favorites too. It is a brilliant crystallization in plain language of all of James's major themes: his theory of politics and society, his views on literature on culture, even his theory of state capitalism (almost always unnoticed), and above all, his critique of intellectuals.

4. The reader should also know that James's study of Herman Melville's *Mardi* is a brilliant

# LETTERS



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## SALUD QUEBECOIS

Hello Love and Ragers,

Enclosed is a newsletter that reports on contemporary first nation struggles in Québec, with the Cree (James Bay 2), with the Innu (SM-3 hydro dam and low level NATO flights) and the Inuit, as well as Mohawk—which is still ongoing and heated.

The paper has gotten much better in the last couple issues. I think the focus of the Federation should be information, rather than trying to actually coordinate on a national level. Bottom-up or just-bottoms organization. The community is really important.

A community center should be opening in a few weeks that is based on anarchist ideals/organization.

For environmental, first nation struggle updates, try E-mail [peacejustice@igc.apc.org](mailto:peacejustice@igc.apc.org). Could you also send 10 copies of each journal that is the English and

themselves. We welcome travelers and comrades, freaks and friends to join us in our endeavor. We are publishing a zine, aptly named *Activating Dissent* which can be obtained by sending a stamp and direction to us. We also have a space for shows (prospective bands please write), are perpetrating a monthly movie night, and fostering bimonthly wimmin's meetings as well. We have done Food Not Bombs since last May. Help turn SLC into the autonomist hub o' the west.

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A Black suspect (Colin Ferguson, age 35) was quickly taken into custody and allegedly had hand-written notes stuffed in his pockets that explained what drove him to take such actions, and why he chose not to do it in a specifically Black section of New York: "He didn't want to embarrass out-going Mayor David Dinkins," who is Black. In addition, the main reasons for the actions were listed as, "White Racism and Uncle Tom Negroes" (house nigga's) that unleashed unjust treatment upon the suspect and others.

### Reaction

After the shootings, mainstream media quickly began bombarding the airwaves with descriptions of the accused as an "animal," "maniac," "madman," "psycho," "nut," etc. (Yet

way, that will be action. Recall: Though subjected to the worst slavery in human history, and far outnumbered by Whites with guns, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner (to name a few) managed to stand erect, plan and/or strike back at their oppression and oppressor. Surely they weren't animals, psychos, etc. They were merely responding to a socio-economic and political reality that oppressed Black/African people then, and though with alteration, still oppresses Black/African people now. It's a shame that those liberators were sold-out by "house nigga's."

It appears that Mr. Ferguson chose a form of suicidal daring to alleviate the problems of racism. This is also shown by the presence of his alleged "notes," which would have explained himself in event that he was slain before completing his mission. These actions (though extreme) are quite understandable and not a phenomenon.

### Solution

To make meaningful strides to transform this society, rather than continue psychoanalyzing, name calling, shouting for the death penalty or more gun control (disarming people of color), the present institutions and machinery of Amerika must be addressed; capitalism, racism, discrimination, alienated labor, pig/police brutality, etc. must end. Then the creation/implementation of free medical and mental health care, free homes for the homeless, free food for the hungry, release of innocent prisoners, trials actually by one's peers (Black jurors for Black defendants), equal protection of the law for all, equal employment for all, reparations for Black/Africans-in-Amerika, a plebiscite for Africans-in-Amerika to determine their relationship to u.s.a., and the installment of an egalita-

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4. The reader should also know that James's study of Herman Melville was an outgrowth of an earlier work, written in 1950, which has awaited more than four decades to see the light of publication. The publication of this work was opposed by powerful forces in the James world, but they have been defeated at last. *American Civilization* has just been published by Blackwell and is a must-read.

5. I can look up the sources Ignatiev quotes, but it would be faster if he could give me full bibliographic descriptions of "Notes on Organization," "Negroes and American Democracy" (1956), and the place where James refers to Trotskyists as "comedians of the vanguard party."

Ralph Dumain

Subscribe to and  
Distribute Love and  
Rage

Name

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THEY NEED YOUR HELP JOIN



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DIFFUSION NOIRE,  
P.O. Box 852,  
Suc. Desjardins, H5B 1B9.  
Love and Anarchy,  
Jamie

P.S. *Rebelles* is no longer operating—nor was it anarchist; it advocated a Québec state including police, military, etc.

## ANARCHISTS IN UTAH?

An Open Letter To Whom It May Concern (this means YOU),

Yea, in our midst, here in the backwaters of Salt Lake City, Utah, a collective has emerged. We are dedicated to autonomy, pushing the boundaries of what has been allowed for us by our programmers. We seek to build a community apart from that which binds us in the state of loathing and fear which the humans of this land and this time have found

were dead or soon to be, plus 17 others were wounded and more just in shock.

A Black suspect (Colin Ferguson, age 35) was quickly taken into custody and allegedly had hand-written notes stuffed in his pockets that explained what drove him to take such actions, and why he chose not to do it in a specifically Black section of New York: "He didn't want to embarrass out-going Mayor David Dinkins," who is Black. In addition, the main reasons for the actions were listed as, "White Racism and Uncle Tom Negroes" (house nigga's) that unleashed unjust treatment upon the suspect and others.

### Reaction

After the shootings, mainstream media quickly began bombarding the airwaves with descriptions of the accused as an "animal," "maniac," "madman," "psycho," "nut," etc. (Yet Ferguson was a college student with excellent grades, on the Dean's List, no criminal record or even a traffic ticket.) The overtly racist screamed for a lynching; self-interdicting racists screamed for implementation of the death penalty (which doesn't exist in NY); and the unconscious racist elements screamed for more legislation surrounding gun control, which is just another attempt to disarm people of color in general and Blacks in particular. Ironically, none of those recommendations come close to addressing or solving Amerika's problems.

### Analysis

In order to understand the alleged actions of Mr. Ferguson, one must first comprehend the social, economic, and political realities of Amerika which created him, particularly since moving here from Jamaica. It isn't difficult to see, and Mr. Ferguson clearly identified one major problem: White Racism. That's something

arming people of color), the present institutions and machinery of Amerika must be addressed; capitalism, racism, discrimination, alienated labor, pig/police brutality, etc. must end. Then the creation/implementation of free medical and mental health care, free homes for the homeless, free food for the hungry, release of innocent prisoners, trials actually by one's peers (Black jurors for Black defendants), equal protection of the law for all, equal employment for all, reparations for Black/Africans-in-Amerika, a plebiscite for Africans-in-Amerika to determine their relationship to u.s.a., and the installment of an egalita-

earlier work, written in 1950, which has awaited more than four decades to see the light of publication. The publication of this work was opposed by powerful forces in the James world, but they have been defeated at last. *American Civilization* has just been published by Blackwell and is a must-read.

5. I can look up the sources Ignatiev quotes, but it would be faster if he could give me full bibliographic descriptions of "Notes on Organization," "Negroes and American Democracy" (1956), and the place where James refers to Trotskyists as "comedians of the vanguard party."

Ralph Dumain

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**AÑO 1, NUMERO 1  
ENERO 1994**

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